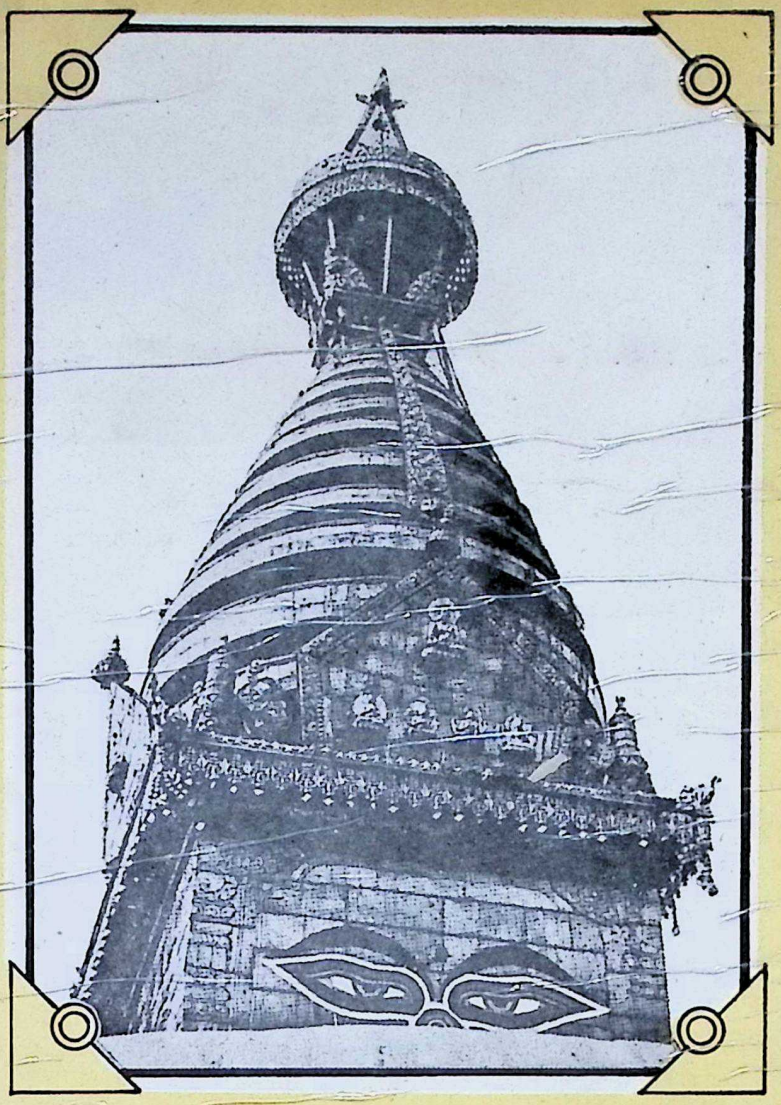

VOL II

ESSAYS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF NEPAL AND SOUTH ASIA

ALEXANDER MACDONALD

RATNA
PUSTAK
BHANDAR
Kathmandu
Nepal

A95

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ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF

NEPAL AND SOUTH ASIA

II

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BY

ALEXANDER W. MACDONALD

RATNA PUSTAK BHANDAR

KATHMANDU NEPAL 1987

ALEXANDER W. MACDONALD:

ESSAYS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF NEPAL AND SOUTH ASIA—II

Edition : 1987

305.8
M1415e

Printed in India by : J. J. Offset Printers
Pharganj, New Delhi-110055

ACC-NO
22026

Preface

After the re-printing of my Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia by Ratna Pustak Bhandar in 1984, it was decided by Mr Ganga P. Shrestha and myself that a second volume of articles would be published in the near future. In March, 1985, the articles chosen for the second volume were handed to the publisher; and, on the back cover of Kailash, Vol. X, 1984, No. 3-4, their publication was announced unobtrusively, vol. I of the Essays being attributed to one Macdormin whereas vol. II was to be authored by a certain Macgould. Publishing times are, indeed, hard; and due to a variety of unforeseen circumstances the publishing programme of Ratna Pustak Bhandar came to be modified. So I am very grateful indeed to Mr Roshan P. Shrestha for the trouble he has taken to get this book out of a drawer. Getting into print at Kathmandu gives an author a feeling of satisfaction unrivalled elsewhere.

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7/2/87

THE LAMA AND THE GENERAL

It is well-known to all who have read accounts of the earliest attempts to climb Mount Everest, that these British expeditions arrived at the mountain from the Northern, Tibetan side. Their approach route lay up the "Rongbuk Valley" where they visited in passing the "Rongbuk Monastery".[1] C.K. Howard-Bury described the valley and its monastery in 1921[2] in these terms:

"The valley was considered very sacred and was apparently a great place of pilgrimage. We found the base camp of the Alpine climbers pitched close to the Rongbuk Monastery, where there lived a very high re-incarnated Lama who was in meditation and not allowed to see anyone. This valley was called the Rongbuk, or inner valley-a name well suited to it[3] ; the legend was that from this valley there used to be a pass over into the Khombu Valley,[4] but the high Lama who lived here forbade the use of it, as it disturbed the meditation of the recluses and hermits of which there were several hundred here. At first these

1 There exists a "Guide" to this region in Tibetan entitled Rong-phu rdza-yi gangs kyi gnas-yig dad-pa'i mdongs-ldan dga'-skyed dbyar gyi rnga-sgra. My manuscript copy was made from a print which has fourteen pages. The guide was written when Ngag-dbang bstan 'dzin nor-bu, who lived from 1867 to 1940, was 67 (Tibetan) years of age. The name of the Rongbuk Monastery is, in fact, Mdo-sngags zung-'jug chos-gling.

2 C.K. Howard-Bury, Mount Everest, The Reconnaissance, 1921, London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1922, p. 83, 84.

3 Phu in Tibetan designates the upper part of a valley as opposed to mda', the lower part. The word rong generally designates valleys populated by farmers as opposed to 'brog, pasture lands where nomads live. In particular cases rong means "gorge, defile" rather than "valley." So rong-phu means "the upper part of the gorge".

4 There is of course a pass further west over to Khumbu which has become well known to Westerners since these lines were written. See for instance H.W. Tilman, Mount Everest 1938, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948, p. 48, where the legend told to Tilman-"no animal is ever brought across it"-seems to have been vehicled by the Sherpas to increase their own carrying wages. I have seen plenty of "four-footed" animals going up and coming down from this pass.

good people did not at all approve of our coming into this valley, as they thought we should be likely to disturb and distract their meditations.[5]

The Rongbuk Monastery lies at a height of 16,500 feet, and is an unpleasantly cold spot. This monastery contains twenty permanent lamas who always live there together with the re-incarnated Lama. Besides these, there are three hundred other associated lamas who come in periodically, remaining there for periods of varying length. These associate lamas are mostly well-to do, and having sufficient money to support themselves are not a drain upon the villagers. They will ofter invest several thousand trangkas with some village, and in return for this money the village will supply them with food, barley, milk, eggs and fuel. Higher up the valley there was a smaller monastery, and dotted along the hillside were numerous cells and caves where monks or nuns had retired to meditate. Every animal that we saw in this valley was extraordinarily tame. In the mornings we watched the burhel coming to some hermits' cells, not a hundred yards away from the camp, to be fed, and from there they went on to other cells. They seemed to have no fear whatever of human beings. On the way up the valley we passed within 40 to 50 yards of a fine flock or rams, but they barely moved away, and on the way back we passed some females that were so inquisitive that they actually came up to within 10 yards of us in order to have a look at us. The rock pigeons came and fed out of one's hand, and the ravens and all the other birds here were equally tame; it was most interesting to be able to watch all their habits and to see them at such close quarters.."[6]

What is perhaps less well-known is that the lama in question noted in his autobiography the passage of these strangers. One reads on p. 287a of the xylograph dus-mthar chos smra-ba'i btsun-pa ngag-dbang

5 Elsewhere Howard-Bury was clear-sighted enough to remark: "In these out-of-the way parts they had heard vaguely of the fighting in 1904, and they imagined that our visit might be on the same lines. They imagined, too, that all Europeans were cruel and seized what they wanted without payment. They were therefore much surprised when they found that we treated them fairly and paid for everything that we wanted at very good rates." Ibid., p. 175.

6 H. Ruttledge, who passed by the same route in 1936, was more interested in the men than in the birds. He writes: "We think ourselves hardy when we approach these regions in the spring, with our tents and windproof clothing and swan-down sleeping bags and pressure cookers. What have these men in the depth of winter but perhaps an old woollen rug and a smouldering branch of juniper, with a pittance of food just sufficient to ward off starvation?" "Our religion," they would probably reply, and the answer must suffice". (Everest: the Unfinished Adventure, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937, p. 79.)

bstan-'dzin nor-bu'i rnam-thar 'chi-med bdud-rtsi'i rol-mtsho as follows:[7]

"After that six British Sahebs with a group of thirty servants and a train of seventy baggage animals, and with a permit issued by the Tibetan Government, arrived here on their way to Mount Everest[8] in this area. They pitched their camp at the mouth of the Eastern valley, and prepared their beds. The group then left for the mountain. Although they remained there an estimated twenty days, since they could not climb the mountain, they returned without incident and without harm to this vale. They then crossed over to Mkhar-rta."[9]

The following year there was another British expedition and its leader C.G. Bruce described its arrival at the same site in these words:

7 de rjes dbyin-ji'i dpon-khag sa-heb drug dang/ ḥ-yog-po sum-cu skor/khal-ma bdun-cu skor/ gzhung rtsal lag khyer dang bcas 'di-ga'i gangs-ri glang-ma'i rtsar 'gro-tshul-gyis 'dir 'byor/ shar gyi lu-sgor gur-gra phub-nas gzhis-mal bcas/ dpon-khag rnams gangs rtsar song/ zhag nyi-shu rtsa grangs shig bsdad kyang gangs-rir 'dzeg ma-thub-pas 'di khul rdab-bsigs gang yang med-par gnod med du phyir log-ste mkhar-rta brgyud song/

8 The text has simply di-ga'i gangs-ri glang-ma'i rtsar; but this certainly designates Mount Everest, the usual Tibetan name for which is Jo-mo glang-ma. For instance the rnam-thar (p.46 a) speaks of la-stod lho'i cha pha-drug rgya-mo rong gi phu/bkra-shis tshe-ring-ma mched-lnga'i ya-gyal mi-g-yo glang bzang-ma'i sa spyod kyi rten gnas gangs kyi ri-bo/ lhun stug jo-mo glang-mar grags-pa'i 'dab-tu. And practically the same words are employed in the gnas-yig (p. 3a) where, speaking of the time when the whole of Tibet was a prey to the sha-za 'dre srin, the writer affirms: de-tshe bkra-shis tshe-ring mched-lnga'i nang-tshan mi g-yo glang bzang-ma'i sa-spyod kyi gnas gangs-ri mtho zhing lhun du chags-pa'i gangs jo-mo glang-mar grags-pa di'i mdun du/ o-rgyan rin-po-che byon-nas mi-g-yo glang-ma sogs bka' bsgos dam la btags.. In F.W. Funke, Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, Innsbruck-München, 1969, p. 77,78, 233-245, one finds the form Mi g-yo blo bzang-ma which is also cited by Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S'Gravenhage, 1956, p. 179, 180. The latter authority devoted some pages to the Tshe-ring mched-lnga (Ibid. 177-181) but did not clearly situate them in the Everest area. The sacred geography of the Everest area has, in fact, been much less studied than its physical make-up. Bāburām Acārya has written in Śārada, 4th year, no 8, B.S. 1995, an article entitled Sagarmāthā yā Jhyomolongma in which he argues that the Nepali compound Sagarmāthā signifies asmān samma kapāl pugeko, "the forehead of which reaches up to the sky". Unfortunately I have not been able to consult J. Schubert, "Mount Everest Das Namens Problem," in Sino-Japonica, Festschrift André Wedermeyer, Leipzig, Harrassowitz 1956, p. 148-196.

9 This is the "Kharta" of Howard-Bury, op.cit., Ch. V.

"We pitched our camp just below the monastery with considerable difficulty, as the wind was howling rather more than usual. Then we went to pay our respects to the Rongbuk Lama. This particular Lama was beyond question a remarkable individual. He was a large well-made man of about sixty, full of dignity, with a most intelligent and wise face and an extraordinarily attractive smile.[10] He was treated with the utmost respect by the whole of his people. We were received with full ceremony, and after compliments had been exchanged in the usual way by the almost grovelling interpreter, Karma Paul (who was very much of a Buddhist here), the Lama began to ask us questions with regard to the objects of the Expedition. He was very anxious also that we should treat his people kindly. His inquiries about the object of the Expedition were intelligent, although at the same time they were very difficult to answer. Indeed, this is not strange when one comes to think how many times in England one has been asked, "What is the good of an exploration of Everest? What can you get out of it? And in fact, what is the object generally of wandering in the mountains?" As a matter or fact, it was very much easier to answer the Lama than it is to answer inquiries in England. The Tibetan Lama, especially of the better class, is certainly not a materialist. I was fortunately inspired to say that we regarded the whole Expedition, and especially our attempt to reach the summit of Everest as a pilgrimage. I am afraid, also, I rather enlarged on the importance of the vows taken by the members the Expedition. I told the Lama, through Paul, who fortunately enough was able to repress his smiles (an actual record for Paul, which must have strained him to his last ounce of strength) that I had sworn never to touch butter until I had arrived at the summit of Everest. Even this was well received. After that time I drank tea with sugar or milk which was made especially for me... The Lama finally blessed us and blessed our men, and gave us his best wishes for success. He was very anxious that no animals of any sort should be interfered with, which we promised, for we had already given our word not to shoot during our Expedition in Tibet. He did not seem to have the least fear that our exploring the mountain would upset the demons who live there, but he told me that it was perfectly true that the Upper Rongbuk and its glaciers held no less than five wild men. There is at any rate, a local tradition of the existence of such beings, just as there is a tradition of the wild men existing right through the Himalaya. As a matter of fact, I really think that the Rongbuk Lama had a friendly feeling for me personally, as he told the interpreter, Karma Paul, that in a previous incarnation I had been a Tibetan Lama. I do not know exactly how to

10 There is a photo of the "chief lama" in Bruce as quoted in the following note, facing p. 78.

take this... The following morning, in cold weather, as usual, we left to try and push our camp as far as possible.."[11]

The Lama's account of these happenings[12] is as follows: "In the third month (of the Tibetan year) once again a group of thirteen Britishers with a hundred coolies and three hundred pack-charges pitched their camp in front (of the Sngags Khang) and stayed one day.

11 C.G. Bruce and other members of the Expedition, The Assault on Mount Everest 1922, New York: Longmans, & Co.; London: Edward Arnold & Co. 1923, p. 45-48.

12 Rnam-thar: p 289 b zla-ba gsum-pa nang slar yang dbyin-ji'i dpon-khag sa-heb bcu-gsum dang/ku-li brgya skor/ dos-khal sum-brgya skor bcas 'byor-nas mdun du gur-grar zhag-gcig bsdad/lam sna sa rgyus shel rdzong sku-tshab ding-ri gra sgrigs-pa'ang sleb/ lha rab ngo g-yog thams-cad dang/ ma-thar spyi-saheb der mjal-kha ma-btang thu-med yin tshul zer-bas lta-log mi-gcig dang 'phrad-na gzhan-kun bkag don mi 'dug kyang/ rang nyid nad babs thu-bas de'i sang-nyin sngags-khang mdun gyi g-yab chen du ja-nan zer-ba sogs sa-heb gsum dang skad bsgyur bcas la mjal-kha btang/ dpon-po gtso-ba des gong-sa yas-phyin gyi sku-par gcig dang/skyin-khab yug-gcig kha-btags bcas phul/der gsol-ja dang/ zho 'bras (290a) btang/ gar 'gro dris-pas 'dzam-bu gling nas gangs-ri di mtho-bas 'di'i rtser sleb-na dbyin-zhung nas phogs dang/ go-sa chen-po yong zer/ bdag gis nged kyi lung-pa 'di ha-cang grang-ngar che zhing chos-byed las gzhan tshugs-par dka' zhing/ gnas-bdag gnyan-pas zab-lcag gang che mdzad-dgos mol-bas/ thugs-rje che/ bla-ma nas kyang skyabs 'jug dang/ nged rnams la me-shing spen-ma phran-bu sgrugs chog-pa mkhyen/ gzhan gnas-nang gi bya ri-dvags la gnod-pa mi-byed/ gri-chung ltab-gri cam las tshon-cha'i rigs gtan nas yod ri kan zer-nas song rjes 'di nas yul babs sna len sha-khog gcig dang/ ja-sbag gcig gro-phye ka-to-ra gang bcas bskyal-bar btang/ de nas song-bar gangs rtsar sgar-chen phogs-nas/ de nas yar gur-gra rim-pa bdun rgyab-nas yod tshul gleng/ zla-ba phyed gnyis tsam bsdad-de gangs-rir 'dzeg-pa'i rtsol-ba lcags-phur/ lcags-thag/lcags-sder sogs thabs-'phrul la brten nas shin-tu dka' ngal chen-pos 'dzegs-pas sa-heb gnyis rkang-lag gangs-chib theb-te sngon la song rjes lag-mgo chad (290 b) skad 'dug/ da-dung gzhan-rnams kyi dbu btsugs kyis 'dzegs-te gangs kyi gsum-gcig tsam sleb-pa na nyin-gcig 'ur-sgra dang bcas gangs nyir-te mi 'ga' zhig g-yang la zags/ sa-heb che-ba gnyis shi-ba yin-nam grangs mi tshes/ g-yog ku-li bdun brgyad cig shi-bas 'di gar ngo-sar bsngo-ba byed-dgos zer spyi-khyab sa-heb des dngul srang bco-lnga btang-ba 'byor-bas dgos-med kyi las la de-lta-bu'i sdug-bsngal myong dgos las bskos la shin-tu snying-rje zhin bsngo-smon gnad-smin byas/ sa zla'i sgrub mchod skabs sa-heb lnga dang ku-li mang zhig yong/ gar-cham sogs par btab/ de rjes dpon 'khor tshang-ma phyir log gi skyas bstegs-nas 'dir dgong sdod byas/ sang-nyin sde-yangs du sa-heb brgyad dang/ g-yog gang yod

The Ding-ri representative from Shel-rdzong[13] also came as guide and assistant.

He said to me, 'The best thing would be to meet the leaders and all their servants or at least the principal Saheb. There is no means of avoiding it.'

I said, 'If one meets one heretic, there is no point in keeping all the others back;' but I was feeling very sick.

The next day I greeted the General,[14] three other Sahebs and their interpreter in the big shelter in front of the sngags-khang. The leader gave me a photo of the Dalai Lama[15] and a length of gold brocade[16] with a ceremonial scarf. I had tea and rice-with-curds served.

la mjal-kha btang/ spyi-khyab des kha sngon ku-li bdun shi-ba'i bsngo zhu ṭam-brgya dang/da lam shel-rdzong sku-tshab la 'bras dang/ 'khrul gyi me-thabs sgam bcas 'bul-rgyu btang-yod byung-ngam zer-ba byung zhes mol/ khyed sku snyel ma-byung-ngam byas-pas/ nga-rang kham bzang/ mi kha-shas shi-song zer cung-ngo mnong-pa 'dug/ kha-zas/ (291a) shing-bkrol gang dang/ gser zangs gsar-pa'i sgrol-ma'i sku-zhig byin-nas ma 'ong-pa na rgyal-ba'i bstan-pa rin-po-che'i gdul-byar gyur-pa'i smon-lam gyi mtshams-sbyor byas/ de nas phyir log 'gro-ba na bod-srol lta-bus zhva phud-nas bzhugs bzhugs zer song/ de'i rjes gangs rtsar dbyin-ji'i bsdad shul-rnams su tsampa dang/ 'bras/ zhun-mar sogs phon-che lus yod-tshul go thos kyis chos-sbug-pa'i bzhon-pa mi grangs nyi-shu skor 'di-ga'i dgon yas mas kyis ma-tshor-bar mtshan-gung gsang-stabs su phyin-nas nam langs-te gangs-ri'i rtsar 'byor nyer rdza gseng nas dred-bdun thon-pa thog-mar mi-gcig gis mthong/ de rjes kun-gyis mthong-bas dngos chas kyi re-ba lta ci 'jigs skrag chen-pos phyir bros-nas 'di-gar ngos-sar yong-te mi-shes-pa'i ltas ngan-pa dang/ gla tshe nyams-pa sogs med-dam zer-bar/ dengs skabs sbas-yul gnas-bdag zu-ra-ba dang/ gzhis-bdag shar-lung sogs ma-dga'-ba'i 'khrul yin 'dug rim-gro skang-bshags sogs byas-na skyon mi 'dug ces mol/

13 On Shel-dkar rdo-rje'i rdzong, see, for instance, T.V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas-bshad, Roma, 1962, p. 66, 133.

14 The Tibetan ja nan renders the English word "general".

15 It is just conceivable that gong-sa yas-phyin could signify the Panchen Lama; but the Dalai Lama seems much more probable in this context.

16 See H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, Delhi, 1968, 2nd edition, s.v. kincob.

'Where are you going?' I asked.'[17]

'As this snow peak is the biggest in the world, if we arrive on the summit we will get from the British Government a recompense and high rank,' he said.

I replied, 'As our country is bitterly cold and frosty, it is difficult for others than those who are devoted to religion not to come to harm. As the local spirits are furies, you must act with great firmness.'

'Thank you. As we shall also come under the lama's protection, we trust you will allow us to collect a little brushwood for firewood. Moreover we won't harm the birds and the wild animals in this area. I swear we have no kinds of weapons apart from this little knife, the size of a side-knife.'

After saying this, they took their leave. Then from here, according the custom of the country, I had conveyed to them a carcass of meat, a brick of tea, and a platterful of roasted wheat flour. After they had left, they established a big camp near the mountain. It is said that they next pitched seven successive camps. They stayed about a month and a half. Making use of instruments such as iron pegs, wire-ropes and crampons they strove to ascend the mountain. They climbed with the most extreme difficulty. Two Sahebs got frost-bitten feet. After their passage down[18] it was said that they lost the first joints of their fingers. Meanwhile the others climbed on ahead. When they had reached about a third of the way up the mountain[19], one day, with a roar, an avalanche occurred and some men were projected over the cliff face. It was not known whether two big Sahebs died. Seven or eight coolies died.[20] The leader of the expedition sent to where I am, fifteen silver srang with a request to perform a bsngo-ba.[21] I was filled with great compassion for their

17 The lama of course knew perfectly well where they were going. This is just the usual Tibetan formula for breaking the ice.

18 I think this must be a reference to Geoffrey Bruce and Norton (Bruce, op. cit. p.78, but see also p. 75).

19 This is not so absurd as it sounds if the lama was calculating the height of the mountain above the monastery.

20 The avalanche and its consequences are described in Bruce, Ibid., p. 280-285.

21 'After the news of the accident had been received we immediately got in touch with the great lama of Rongbuk who was intensely sympathetic and kind over the whole matter. It is very strange to have to deal with these curious people; they are an extraordinary mixture of superstition and nice feelings." (Bruce, Ibid., p. 75).

lot who underwent such suffering on unnecessary work. I organised very important bsngo-smon.[22]

At the time of the sgrub-mchod[23] in the fourth (Tibetan) month, five Sahebs and many coolies arrived back. They took photos of the gar-cham, etc. After that the group changed their quarters for the return journey. I asked them to stay the night. The following day I met eight Sahebs and all the servants present on the balcony.

The leader started by saying, 'Previously I sent one hundred tamka with a request for a bsngo for the seven coolies who died. Just now I sent rice and a cook-box for the Shel-rdzong representative. Did they arrive?'

I asked, 'Are you not weary?'

'Me? I'm alright. A few men died, 'he replied and was a little ashamed.

I gave him a wooden tub-full of breads[24] and a new gold and copper image of Tārā;[25] I resolved to pray for his conversion to Buddhism in the future. Then, as he left, as is the custom in Tibet, he took off his hat and said: 'Be seated, be seated,' and so saying went away.

After that, getting to know that there remained much roasted barley flour and rice and oil, etc., in the places where the Britishers

22 "Buddhist services were held in the monasteries for the men who had been lost and for the families; and also the porters, and especially the relations of the men who were killed, were received and especially blessed by the Rongbuk Lama himself" (Ibid.) bsngo-smon are prayers the merits of which are supposedly beneficial to those who have accumulated bad karma.

23 See F.W. Funke, Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, Khumbu Himal 9, Innsbruck-München, 1969, p. 115--138.

24 Kha-zas is not an easy term to translate. One hesitates between "biscuit" and "bread". See G. Tucci, Les Religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie, trad. de l'allemand, Paris, 1973, p. 188, n.1.

25 Cf. Bruce, op. cit., p.78: "The Lama made special inquiries after the expedition, and then began the blessing. He offered us his every best wishes and presented me, through Paul, with a special mark of his goodwill, a little image of one of the Taras or queens, of Tibetan mythology. My special one was the Green Tara, who takes precedence among all ladies. This was a mark of very great favour.' It would have been a greater favour if he had received on old image.

had stayed near the mountain, some youngsters from Chos-sbug,[26] about twenty of them, unbeknown to the monasteries -the upper and the lower one in this area- passed by secretly at midnight and, at dawn, arrived at the base of the mountain. From a cleft in the nearby scree, seven bears came out. At first one man caught sight of them; after that they all saw them. Whatever their hope when they saw the supplies, in a great panic, they all ran away. When they came back here, they asked, 'Is not this inauspicious sight terrible and will not our lives be harmed?'

I said, 'It is a sign that at the moment Zu-ra-ba, the gnas-bdag[27] of the Sbas-yul[28] and Shar-lung[29] the gzhis-bdag, are not pleased. If we do the skang-bshags rituals in order, no harm will come."

26 This is the place called Chobu by Howard-Bury, op.cit. p.82,95, 190, 191, 312, 317.

27 On gnas-bdag and gzhis-bdag generally, see von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S'Gravenhage, 1956. Bdud-po zu-ra is mentioned along with the twelve Bstan-ma in the shorter of the two "guides" quoted in the note which follows.

28 The Sbas-yul in question is surely Mkhan-pa lung. F.W. Thomas, in his translation of the "booklet" for E G H Kempson, as published in H. Ruttledge, op. cit. p. 286, identified Mkhan-pa lung as 'Abbot's Ravine, evidently the valley where is the Rongbuk Monastery". This localisation is quite wrong. Mkhan-pa lung is mentioned, for instance, in the Sbas-yul 'bras-mo ljongs kyi gnas-yig phan-yon dang bcas-pa ngo-mtshar gter-mdzod which (p.4b-5a) divides up the sbas-yul into four big, four small and others. The four big are:

East: Tsa-ri gangs kyi ra-ba
South: Bar-yul gangs kyi ra-ba
West: La-phyi gangs kyi ra-ba
North: Gnod-sbyin gangs kyi ra-ba.
The four small are:
South-East: Rgyal-gyi mkhan-pa lung
South-West: Dpal-gyi gra-phu lung
North-West: Dpal-gyi'jag-ma lung
North-East: Skyid-kyi gro-ma lung.

The others (gzhan yang) are, according to this source: Spar-phug gangs kyi ra-ba; Gsal-rje gangs kyi ra-ba; G-yu lung gangs-kyi ra-ba; 'Brong-rdza gangs kyi ra-ba; Jo-mo gangs kyi ra-ba; Snye'o gangs kyi ra-ba; Sna-nam gangs kyi ra-ba; Shel-bzang gangs kyi ra-ba; Rong-btsan gangs kyi ra-ba: Shar sgam-po gangs kyi ra-ba; Lho-rong gangs kyi ra-ba, etc. I possess two manuscript "guides" to Mkhan-pa lung. 1) Sbas-yul mkhan-pa lung gi gnas kyi lam-yig dang-po, 9 pages, Rig 'dzin rgod ldem gyi gter-ma. 2) Sbas-yul mkhan-pa lung gi gnas-yig dang lam-yig bcas, 37 pages, Padma gling-pa'i gter-ma. I hope to return shortly to the problem of

One can of course speculate as to what degree of objectivity was sought for and achieved in the respective writings of the lama and the general. Certainly in the circumstances Karma Paul's position was unenviable. Caught between his loyalty to his religion and his fidelity to his British employers, the role he had to play was no easy one. Moreover Bruce sometimes clearly misunderstood what Paul said. It is most improbable, for instance, that Karma Paul ever told him that "this Lama has the distinction of being actually the incarnation of a god, the god Chongraysay (read: Spyan-ras-gzigs=Avalokiteshvara), who is depicted with nine heads."31

Years later, the same Karma Paul was asked by Tilman at Rongbuk to "disabuse the minds of our hosts that expeditions to climb Mount Everest are undertaken at the instigation of and assisted by the British Government for the sake of national prestige."32 Tilman continues: "We assured them that this was not so and explained that Mount Everest, supreme though it was, was not the only mountain we tried to climb: that we belonged to a small but select cult who regarded a Himalayan expedition as a means of acquiring merit beneficial to soul and body, and equivalent to entering a monastery except that the period of renunciation was short and that such admirable macaroni stew as was served in monasteries was seldom available." Certainly Karma Paul does not seem to have got this message across in 1922.

Mkhan-pa lung. However, in the present context one can note here that Ngag-dbang bstan- 'dzin nor-bu's rnam-thar speaks of "the country called Mkhar-rta in the district of Pha-drug, on the Northern side of Mkhan-pa lung the place of the hidings of the Guru, which is to the South-East of Rong-phu rdza, in the Southern part of La-stod" (p. 48a: la-stod lho yi sa'i tsha/ rong phu rdza yi shar-lho/ gu-ru'i sbas-gnas mkhan-pa lung gi byang ngos-su pha-drug mkhar rta zhes-pa'i yul..)

29 The gnas-srung/gnas-bdag Sha-lung/ Shar-lung is mentioned in the Rong-phu gnas-yig, p. 9a, 9b.

30 See F.W. Funke. op. cit., p. 82-85, 115, 247-255; bskang-gso are propitiatory rituals addressed to the protective deities.

31 Bruce, op. cit., p. 45.

32 Tilman, op. cit., p. 98.

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY IN NEPAL

As a result of concern expressed by the Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University about the absence of a Sociology Department, Professor Ernest Gellner of the London School of Economics visited Nepal in September 1970, with a view to preparing a report on this question. It was considered desirable that there should be an institution at Tribhuvan University devoted to (a) carrying out, encouraging and, on occasion, supervising systematic social research in Nepal; (b) training Nepalese scientists and researchers; and (c) acting as a clearing house and point of contact, coordination and co-operation for the various researches carried out in the past, present and future, by Nepalese and foreigners. I will not weary you with the details of the report elaborated by Professor Gellner but I should like to quote one passage from it which states the basic principles on which our activity should be founded. He wrote: "There are two general and reputable motivations for social research. One is represented by what may be called the Romantic School, which enters the field in the hope of recording, if not preserving past social forms. The other tendency might be called the Midwifery School, which wishes to use knowledge and understanding to ease the birth-pangs of a new world. The striking thing seems to me to be that these two approaches are not incompatible, but on the contrary, complementary - and particularly so in a country such as Nepal. To illustrate: Anyone concerned, for instance, with raising rural productivity, with increasing rural receptivity to new techniques of crops, must inevitably be concerned with understanding the traditional forms of land tenure and the way in which any agricultural surplus was distributed. These traditional forms presumably determine the peasants' attitude to land and its use. Their understanding must be a precondition of effective rural development. Conversely: if a researcher were attracted in the first instance by the remarkable richness of ritual life and artistic production, he could not produce an adequate study in this field without giving an account of the way in which art and ritual dovetail with caste, guild, guthi and other institutions, and hence providing material relevant to the understanding of economic change. The general point which I am labouring is that in a country such as Nepal, where the past is still very much present, there is no need to choose between a past and a future-oriented style of research. Research should be closely tied both to social development and to the exploration of the national culture".

After prolonged discussions, Professor Gellner's report had the practical consequence of my being appointed, under the joint auspices of Tribhuvan University and the British Council, Professor of

Sociology and Head of Department of Sociological Research at the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies for an initial period of two years on July 15, 1973. What, you may ask, did this appointment signify? And I feel that this is the first question to which I should provide a clear answer. My job, as I see it, is to train post-graduate research assistants and students, to supervise and vet their research projects, to help them personally in the field, and to assist them with the writing-up of their material in view of its publication in the form of Ph. D.'s or M.A.'s. Projects for M.A. by dissertation and Ph.D. degrees and examinations have already been drafted, in collaboration with the Dean of the Institute, and submitted to and approved by the Faculty Board. These post-graduate researchers should ultimately - say, in five years' time - take over part of the teaching load in Sociology and Anthropology at Tribhuvan University. At the moment, there is no Sociology being taught at B.A. or M.A. levels, and such teaching cannot be improvised overnight without the relevant trained personnel and credits. However, a suggested B.A. syllabus in Sociology will be drawn up in the course of this academic year and circulated for criticism to the relevant instances. Meanwhile, the build-up of documentary archives for sociological research in the Institute will be initiated, in liaison with existing institutions which share similar research interests. We also intend to keep in touch with HMG Departments concerned with Development Projects (Remote Areas, Home and Panchayat, etc.), so as to learn their desiderata and to ensure, ultimately, the feed-back to them of the information and the concrete suggestions which will result from the sociological research carried out in this Institute.

Contacts with foreign institutes which send researchworkers in Sociology and Anthropology to Nepal will be established and maintained so as to ensure better local knowledge of what they are doing, and to tie this in with our own activities. Care will be taken to inform these foreign centers of the work being done by Nepalese scholars.

A small library will be built up for internal use-for instance, 65 Tibetan texts reprinted in India have already been donated to the Library and are at present being catalogued. Lectures concerning Bhotia culture, which should be of interest to HMG's administrators working in the Northern areas as well as to students, are planned, and the teaching of Tibetan is to start in this Institute w.e.f. 15 October, 1973.

During the first semester of the current year a seminar on "The Sociology of Spirit-Possession in Nepal" is being held once a week for two hours. This subject has been chosen because it is something which every Nepalese has become acquainted with in his everyday life: the phenomena studied cut across ethnic barriers and transcend the limits of caste. One can even ask the question: Is the persistence of spirit-possession a unifying cultural factor in Nepalese society? Current literature appearing on Nepal both here and abroad is reviewed and criticised at this seminar. Students are encouraged to write reviews

and short articles for Contributions to Nepalese Studies, the Institute's journal. The Professor is also on the Editorial Advisory Board of Kailash, so possibilities are not lacking to publish serious studies.

As part of the first year's research projects, three have to date been approved by the Subject Committee. N.K. Rai will undertake a socio-cultural study of the two groups of Chepang (Pukunthali and Kacchare) in the Makwanpur or Chitwan districts of Narayani zone. D.P. Rajaure - he is already in the field-will study the Tharus of Dang Deukhuri and Surkhet valleys as part of a larger study on "Land and Social Change in the Inner Terai". D.R. Dahal will make an ethnographic study of social change among the Athpahare Rai of the Dhankuta area. All these studies will take the form of field-work to be followed by the writing-up of material and further critical, theoretical discussion concerning its formulation.

It will be seen that our initial objectives are limited to training personnel in the carrying out of ethnographic and theoretical work of a relatively simple nature. In each case great importance will be accorded to the study of change in all its aspects: social, economic, political and religious. In the initial stages of our work we cannot expect to provide the type of sophisticated theoretical analysis of the standard required in some western universities, nor is this thought to be desirable in the present Nepalese cultural context. We want to provide work of good quality which will be read and which will be useful. The reading public must be educated slowly to expect more.

It must be emphasized that training and field-work and the writing of monographs take time. If four or five studies of the type mentioned above are completed (i.e. published) within five years this would not be unsatisfactory. We shall have casualties and failures as well as successes, but we shall take all possible precautions.

By 1978, sufficient work should have been done to enable us to establish the trends, fields of interest and competence which have become Nepalese. By that time, too, more credits should be available not only for the payment of teachers but also to meet the cost of projects. I should like to see an intake of four or five more research-assistants lecturers in 1974-1975, but at this stage we are concerned with quality rather than quantity and the intake should not, in the first years, overshoot the limits of research which the Professor feels competent to supervise personally. If this intake-rate is maintained, we should envisage the division of the Sociology Chair into three departments: Readerships in Rural Sociology, Economic Anthropology and Applied Anthropology should be created in the Department by 1978. And we must start looking for people and for funds for these posts, now. It is only after initial training in the Institute that research-workers should be sent to foreign institutes to complete their training before returning to Nepal to teach and do further research.

The research projects which were enumerated above and the general lines of our programme of studies were determined upon in the light of the manpower available. All three Nepalese researchers who are to do field-work this year are graduates from other disciplines who manifested the desire to come and work with us and a willingness to adapt themselves to field-work. If a parallel is to be drawn with European or American methods, it certainly looks, at first sight, as if in Nepal, we were putting the cart before the horse. For in Europe it is only after prolonged graduate and post-graduate studies that a student is encouraged to undertake research. And here we seem to be beginning by it. Frankly, I do not see how we can do otherwise. Moreover, if these students are carefully supervised there should perhaps be less danger than there is in Europe - where students are often left much to fend for themselves - of their wasting time in sterile pursuits. It is no good saying: "We should do this, we should study that" if there is no one capable of doing so. The publication of a solid piece of work will please me more than any number of brilliant projects. And we can take encouragement from the fact that perhaps the most comprehensive individual work on a Nepalese group published to date was undertaken and brought to conclusion by a man who had little or no professional training before he left Kathmandu for Pokhara. I am referring to the late Bernard Pignède's book: Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal, Paris. Mouton, 1966.

At this point we may pause to consider what in fact has been accomplished to date in Nepal in the fields which are our concern.[1] In what follows I shall lay stress on foreign rather than Nepalese research because I know it better and because no comprehensive bibliography of Nepalese language research exists for ready consultation. One often has to ferret out good Nepalese articles in reviews which are not easily available and have often had a more or less ephemeral existence. The first point to be made is that these foreign scholars came to Nepal from different national back-grounds and academic systems, to respond to questions which were considered urgent in their own national academic contexts. The individual, serious Western Student who paid his own way and did exactly the work he himself wanted to do was a rare bird indeed before the hippies descended on us; and he still is. So what has happened is that materials have been collected in widely dispersed areas of Nepal and taken back to Europe, Japan and the U.S.A. where they have been worked up as articles, as books, as theses, as bibliographies in direct response to bread-and-butter and career imperatives, and published in languages which are sometimes not widely read in Nepal. In point of fact, all this activity is often not nearly so chaotically bourgeois as it appears to many Nepalese eyes. The French, in particular, with their two co-operative research projects based on predetermined programmes - the R.C.P. 65 and the R.C.P. 253 - have set a good example of planned multidisciplinary research; and, with financial resources and trained personnel to call on far and away beyond what we can command here for many years to come, have also initiated a series of bilingual publications which is most commendable. I would refer you in this context

to Prayag Raj Sharma's book Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal, Paris, 1972, which is prefaced by his French friend and anthropologist colleague Marc Gaborieau.

The Northern areas have been worked over mainly by foreign scholars who know Tibetan and have been trained in Buddhist studies abroad before coming here. Dr. David Snellgrove has published two learned and highly readable travel-and-history books, Buddhist Himālaya; Travels and Studies in Quest of the Origins and Nature of Tibetan Religion, Oxford, B. Cassirer, 1957, and Himālayan Pilgrimage, a Study of Tibetan Religion by a Traveller through Western Nepal, Oxford, B. Cassirer, 1961. He has also published an important study of Four Lamas of Dolpo, Oxford, 1967, 2 volumes, and has furnished a capital contribution to Bon studies as well, by his book Nine Ways of Bon, Oxford, 1967, which he wrote in collaboration with two Tibetan scholars who went from Nepal to London to work with him. The Sherpas have been fortunate in their analyst, Professor Ch. von Fürer Haimendorf, who, although not himself a Tibetologist, has written one of the most widely-read books on a hill-population: The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, London, J. Murrary, 1964. He was followed to Khumbu and Solu by a serious and hard-working German team who have to date published two beautifully produced books of sociological interest: Geschichte und Sozialordnung der Sherpa, Innsbruck-Munchen, 1968, by Michael Oppitz and Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, Innsbruck-Munchen, 1969, by Friedrich W. Funke. A Sherpa lama, Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin recently collaborated with me in bringing out, in Tibetan, a history of Buddhist religion in the Sherpa area, and a summary of our knowledge of the clan histories and legends: Documents pour l'étude de la Religion et de l'organisation sociale des Sherpa, Junbesi-Paris-Nanterre, 1971. I am presently engaged in translating this volume into French. Corneille Jest has written some well-illustrated articles in French about Dolpo[2] and we all hope that his doctoral thesis on that area will be published shortly. He has also written significant articles on the Thakali, a population which has been studied by Dor Bahadur Bista and Professor Haimendorf among others.[3]

Mustang, the subject of an unfortunate but commercially successful book by Michel Peissel (Mustang, the Forbidden Kingdom, New York, 1967) remains a sociological questionmark. The far North-West of Nepal-Humla, Mugu, etc. - has to date been little studied; and Manang is yet to be described in anthropological terms. A chapter in Dor Bahadur Bista's People of Nepal, ("Olangchung People", p. 174-176), is about all that has been written in recent years on the far North-East. So we see that, if much good work of various kinds has been done in the Northern areas, there are still large tracts which remain virtually undocumented from the point of view of social science. Valley-dwelling Nepalese have so far shown little published interest in working in these remote areas. Perhaps the inauguration of Tibetan language studies in this Institute may encourage students from Nepal to become specialists in this area, which is to them a new field.

surveys of monasteries need to be undertaken urgently before it is too late. The dates of their foundation, the spiritual lineages of their lamas, inventories of their books and blocks, documents relative to their past relations with Tibet and their present relations with HMG's authorities, should be collected, systematized on cards and indexed in relation to existing maps. The economics of monastic communities offer a difficult challenge to any social scientist. Further information should be sought for concerning the practice of the salt trade. Changes in the ways of life of Bhotia communities which are consequent on better communications with the South, should be studied; and the long-range business ventures outside Nepal in South East Asian countries of groups such as the Manangbas provide exciting subjects for research. What is needed once again are the men to do it.

The Middle Hills have on the whole fared best in the international share-out since 1950. I have already spoken of the Gurung. May I add that Dr. Macfarlane, presently of Cambridge University, England, has undertaken an intensive demographic survey of this group which is unpublished but is available on microfilm. It is entitled Population and Economy in Central Nepal: A Study of the Gurungs and can be consulted at Tribhuvan University Library. Professor John Hitchcock of the University of Wisconsin has written a straightforward, descriptive account of The Magars of Banyan Hill, New York, 1966, which is easily accessible and a good model for students who are thinking of taking up Anthropology as a career. Lionel Caplan of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, has written a fascinating study of Hindu tribal cleavage and interdependence among the Limbus entitled Land and Social Change in East Nepal, London, 1970. This is very much a professional anthropologist's book and should inspire students who aim at producing work of a high analytical level.[4] The Newars have been studied by Gopal Singh Nepali in a compendious volume entitled The Newars, Bombay, 1965. More detailed specialised studies are beginning to appear also in this field: Father John Locke's Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati, Kirtipur, 1973, and Michael Allen's article "Buddhism without monks: the Vajrayana Religion of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley", in South Asia, No. 3, August, 1973, p. 1 - 14.[5] Serious anthropological work on the Rai was initiated by Dr. Nick Allen with his article "The Vertical Dimension in Thulung Classification" published in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford, 3, 1972, p. 81-94. The Chetri groups of the valley have been studied by Professor Ch. von Fürer Haimendorf: Unity and Diversity in the Chetri Caste of Nepal", (Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, London, 1966, p. 11-67) and in a remarkable monograph written in French by Khem Bahadur Bista, Le Culte du Kuldevata au Népal, en particular chez certains Kṣatri de la vallée de Kathmandu, Paris, 1970. The Tamang have not yet been studied in depth in any fullscale monograph but Professor Haimendorf has written "Ethnographic Notes on the Tamangs of Nepal", in Eastern Anthropologist, IX, 3-4, 1956, p. 166-177 and I wrote a short article: "Les

Tamang vus par l'un d'eux", in L'Homme, VI, 1, Paris, 1966, p. 27-58. The Musulmans of Western Nepal have been studied by Marc Gaborieau: "Les Curaute de Moyen Népal: place d'un groupe de Musulmans dans une société de castes", in L'Homme, VI, 3, Paris, 1966, p. 81-91.[6] This article also inaugurated the textual study of the Muluki Ain in an anthropological perspective and was followed up by an article I wrote entitled "la hiérarchie des jāt inférieurs dans le Muluki Ain de 1955", in Echanges et Communications, Mélanges en l'honneur de Claude Lévi-Strauss, Paris, 1970. Mention must also be made of a long article by Marc Gaborieau entitled "Note préliminaire sur le dieu Masta" in Objets et Mondes, IX, 1, Paris, 1969, p. 19-50, which opened up, in a remarkable manner, the study of popular religion in Western Nepal. Our Dean, Prayag Raj Sharma, has also written an interesting account of the "Matwali Chetris of Western Nepal" in the Himalayan Review, Vol. IV, Kirtipur, 1971, p. 43-60.[7] Lower in the social scale C. Jest has written on the Chepang: "Les Chepang, ethnie népalaise de langue tibétaine", in Objets et Mondes, VI, 2, 1966, p. 169-184. Johan Reinhard has written on the Kusunda: "Aperçu sur les Kusunda, peuple chasseur du Népal", in Objets et Mondes, IX, 1, Paris, 1969, p. 89-106. Mireille Helffer and I have written on the Gāine and the Badi.[8]

The best general introduction to the peoples of the Tarai[9] is to be found in Part II of Dor Bahadur Bista's People of Nepal, Kathmandu, 1972, p. 109-158. One finds there not only information about the numerically important groups such as the Tharu, but also short but interesting sections on the Danuwar, Majhi and Darai, on the Rajbansi, the Satar, the Dhimal[10] and the Bodo as well as the Dhangar. With HMG's policy of development of the Surkhet district and the interest shown by CEDA in this part of Nepal, we may hope soon for more detailed material concerning migration and the problems it provokes throughout those areas which have recently been freed from malaria.

The above sketch of some of the work that has been done does not pretend to be complete. I have purposely refrained for the most part from comments on work in progress or on material which has not yet been published. However certain gaps are once more discernable in our knowledge of the Middle Hills, the Valley and the Tarai. It is striking that no monographs has as yet been devoted to any of the various Bahun groups and one cannot help wondering why as these groups obviously play a most important role in the new developing elites as well as in traditional society. Again there has been no serious study by foreigners of the Thakuri; and much more requires to be done on the many differing Tharu groups which are spread along practically the whole of Southern Nepal.

By and large there have been no monographs which have tackled general questions of theoretical interest. I understand that Professor Hitchcock is hoping to edit next year a volume on Shamanism in Nepal at Wisconsin which will include more than a dozen contributions

from different authors. But we are still far from a position where we can think of producing general works on themes such as Sacrifice, Kinship or Sexual Life among the Nepalese. By common consent the latter subject still seems to be under some sort of taboo. Before we can undertake general theoretical studies we must have much more ethnographic information of good quality concerning Nepal as a whole. Today, as much as twenty years ago, this still seems to me the primary desideratum. But the very wielding together into one scientific discipline in this Institute of the multifarious research undertaken to date should do much to better our capacity to take an over-all view of Nepalese culture. Much material is already at hand to undertake such a synthesis: I need only remind you of Mahesh Regmi's four volume Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal and his recent, brilliant monograph A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1968-1846, New Delhi, 1971. Such publications are rich mines awaiting exploitation by social scientists.

While working in villages in the countryside, the remark has often been made to me that the average person here is some-what in the position of a man inside a well: he knows his immediate surroundings in remarkable detail but he is frustrated by his ignorance of what lies beyond. However, I have suggested in this paper that we are still sociologically ignorant of many aspects of Nepalese culture which lie within the nation's geographical limits. It seems to me very necessary that we should share the knowledge which we are acquiring with the general public; and I hope that we shall also be able to exchange information and ideas with geographers, historians, political scientists, etc., by organising further seminars where our common problems and interests can by discussed. Anthropologists are often accused of accentuating, by their work, the diversity rather than the unity of Nepal's culture. If, during my stay here, I can contribute in any way to undermining this prejudice - for it is a prejudice which stems from ignorance of what, in our discipline, we are trying to achieve and not a valid criticism founded in reality - I shall be satisfied. To see Nepal clearly and to see it whole is as much the job of the sociologist as of anyone else. And we should be careful not to let our discipline be confined in an intellectual enclave, out of touch with the realities that face the administrators who are labouring to build a new Nepal and the material difficulties which confront the student who wants to get on and work.

One final point: you are probably wondering what sort of a Sociologist or Anthropologist I am. I have purposely refrained in this paper from theoretical discussion of the crude and subtle distinctions which can be operated between Sociology and Anthropology. Such discussions seem quite out of place in the present context. However, on the whole I would agree with Kroeber that "Sociology tends to be concerned with society, anthropology with anthropos, man, and his specifically human product, culture" (Anthropology, Calcutta reprint, 1972, p. 12). For me there is no doubt that the social

scientist who sets himself the task of studying the literate civilisations of Asia finds himself faced with problems which are different from those which confront the scholar who is interested in peoples who ignore the written word. My view is that, to work in depth, we must be more than ethnographers; yet we should never allow ourselves to become obsessed - the danger is slight in Nepal-with purely theoretical, methodological problems. While learning to speak languages, we must also gain access as far as possible to the written texts of the civilisations we propose to study. For in the field we will have to observe behaviour, techniques, systems of thought, the full significance of which will only become apparent to us in the light of texts the very content of which will often be unknown to the peoples we study. Constrained by our chosen field to work in a diachronic as well as a synchronic perspective, our training will be long. For a sound knowledge of the cultures of India and Tibet seems to me an indispensable background to the serious study of Homo nepalensis. Perhaps after all I am a Romantic Midwife.

Notes

1 A good summary of foreign research in Nepal up to the beginning of 1968 is to be found in the review by M. Gaborieau, published in Tribus, Stuttgart, 1971, p. 183-185, of L. Boulnois and H. Millot, Bibliographie du Népal, I, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1969.

2 "Mission au Népal", in Objets et Mondes, II, 2, 1962, p.107-129 and "Népal 1963" in Objets et Mondes, IV, 3, 1965, p. 209-233. See also "Plantes sauvages utilisées comme aliments à Dolpo, haute vallée himalayenne au Népal" in Langues et Techniques, Nature et Société, II, Klincksieck, 1971, p. 325-332.

3 C. Jest, "Les Thakali, Note préliminaire concernant une ethnie du Nord-ouest du Népal", in l'Ethnographie, 58-59, (1964/65) p. 26-49; "Chez les Thakali, cérémonie consacrée aux ancêtres du clan" in Objets et Mondes, ix, 1, 1969, p. 59-68; Dor Bahadur Bista, "The political innovators of Upper Kali Gandaki", in Man 6: 1, 1971, p. 52-60, People of Nepal, Kathmandu 1967, p. 80-88; Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, "Caste Concepts and Status Distinctions in Buddhist Communities of Western Nepal", in Ch. von F.H. (editor) Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon: Anthropological Studies in Hindu-Buddhist Contact Zones, Bombay, 1966, p. 140-160; "A Challenge to Buddhist Values", in Morals and Merit: A Study of Values and Social Controls in South Asian Socities, Chicago, 1967, p. 197-202. Shigeru Ijima, "The Thakali, a Central Himalayan Tribe" in Japanese Journal of Ethnology, 24:3, 1960, p. 1-22; "Hinduisation of a Himalayan Tribe in Nepal", in Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, 1963, p. 43-52.

4 Much good work has also been done in French on the Limbus. See P. Sagant, "Mariage par enlèvement chez les Limbu", in Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Paris, 1969, p. 71-98; "Les marchés en pays Limbu" in l'Ethnographie, Paris, 1968-1969, p. 90-118; "Tampuṇmā divinité Limbu de la forêt", in Objets et Mondes, Paris, 1969, ix, 1, p. 107-124; and "Prêtres Limbu et catégories domestiques", in Kailash, 1, i, Kathmandu, 1973, p. 51-75.

5 See also Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, "Elements of Newar Social Structure", in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Volume 86, 2, 1956, p. 15-38, and C. Rosser's brilliant article: "Social Mobility in the Newar Caste System", in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, London, 1966, p. 68-139.

6 See also his article: "Les Musulmans du Népal" in Objets et Mondes, vi, 2, Paris, 1966, p. 121-132. Another very useful work on western Nepal is Charles McDougal's Village and Household Economy in Far Western Nepal, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, 1969.

7 See also by the same author "Pascim nepālko himālayamā pūjine kehi devatāharu tathā tyas bhek ko dharmika rupko euta sāmānya carcā", in Karnāli Prades, Kathmandu, V.S. 2028.

8 See M. Helffer and A.W. Macdonald, "Sur un saraṅgi de gāine", Objets et Mondes, vi, 2, Paris, 1966, p. 133-142 and "Remarques sur le vers nepali chanté", in l'Homme, VIII, 3 and 4, Paris, 1968; also M. Helffer, "Fanfares villageoises au Nepal" in Objets et Mondes IX, 1, Paris, 1969, p. 51-58, and A.W. Macdonald, "Un aspect des chansons des gāine du Népal" in Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his 75th birthday, I, Artibus Asiae, Ascona, 1966, p. 187-194. See also M. Helffer and Marc Gaborieau, "Problèmes posés par un chant de Tihar", in l'Ethnographie, Paris 1968/69, p. 69-89.

9 An interesting study, packed full of information, and which has not received the critical attention which it merits, is Makhan Jha's book: The Sacred Complex in Janakpur, Allahabad, United Publishers, 1971.

10 See recently the Dhimal Folk-life study sponsored by the Royal Nepal Academy and published under the title Dhimal lok-jivan adhyayan, Kathmandu, 1973.

Preliminary Report on Some Jhākri of the Muglān

The collection of ethnographic material published in Volume III of *Peoples of Nepal Himalaya*[1] includes several references to *Jangri/jhankri* and even to 'Jangrism'. Once again our attention is called to this poorly understood aspect of the magico-religious life of these regions. Speaking of the 'Takali', Mr. J. Kawakita (90-91) writes:

> 'The religion of the people came originally from *Hindu Tantra* and in the Takali language is called *Jangri*. The term *Jangri* refers to the priesthood of this religion. About 400 years ago Lamaism came down from the North. Lama fought with *jangri* and won. Jangrism was suppressed, its sacred books and writings were burned and Lamaism became the dominant religion until recent times. However there still remain some Takalis who were Hinduists and some who continue to adhere to Jangrism ... According to an informant Jangrism is a kind of practical religion with which nowadays every Takali is familiar. Jangrism has neither gods nor sacred images. Nor does it have any complicated ritual. The writer was further told that today there are no special practitioners called *jangri* but that the members of each family are *jangri* and take part in very simple religious rites.... The writer was unable to learn anything about the content of Jangrism as a religion, but he imagines it to be a sort of Shamanistic cult ... Professor G. Tucci told the writer that Jangrism and Bonnism are the same ...'[2]

Mr. Kawakita seems to accept without question the existence of one single 'Jangrism'. I am not yet convinced that this theoretical view will be confirmed by actual facts. We are dealing here with a magico-religious complex whose geographical limits are not yet determined and whose very substance is presently unclear.[3] The following notes were taken down directly in Nepāli during a field trip to Kalimpong from 1958-1960[4] and concern only the region of Darjeeling and the sub-district of Kalimpong. I hope this study will encourage other researchers to investigate this problem and to either complete or correct my information. The question must be studied in Nepal itself.

What is a *jhãkri*[5] of Muglān?[6] 'Diviner, conjurer, wizard', says Sir Ralph Turner; however, elsewhere, s.v. *ban jhãkri* (that is, 'jhakri of the jungle'), he (Nepali Dictionary 1931:419b) writes 'A hobgoblin who inhabits mountain caves and entraps human beings'. The *jhãkri* is therefore both a being and a spirit. For the moment, let us consider only the being. If I had to give a dictionary type definition, I would say, 'an interpreter of the world'; this avoids the pejorative connotation of 'conjurer' or 'wizard'. These latter terms are generally associated with irregular activities that either stray slightly from the societal norms or that are blatantly anti-social.[8] The *jhãkri*, however, appears to be the very vehicle of a certain Nepali traditionalism. He is a person who falls into a trance, during which time voices speak through his person, thereby enabling him to diagnose illnesses and sometimes cure them, give advice for the future and clarify present events in terms of their relationship to the past. He is therefore both a privileged intermediary between spirits (who cause and cure illness) and men; between the past, present and future; between life and death, and most importantly between the individual and a certain social mythology. It seems to me that he may belong to any *jāt* and may take as a pupil a person from any other caste;[9] a Lepcha may play the role of *guru* for a Nepali and vice versa.[10] This master *(guru)*-pupil *(celo)* relationship is moreover the only relationship existing on the human level in the *jhãkri* brotherhood.[11] I hesitate to call them 'priests' since they do not constitute a clerical hierarchy with a spiritual head. There are however certain practices common to all *jhãkri;* they all perform a *pūjā* to their master-spirit at each full moon, and at each full moon of Bhadau,[12] they do a *gurupūjā*. However, the activities and forms of worship vary from one *jhãkri* to the next.

These variations are due to the individual training of the *jhãkri* (I am obviously excluding variations due to a difference of caste, social situation, etc.); these variations are also due to the difference in the demands of the clientele. All the *jhãkri* I have known had a trade that provided them with a livelihood - carpenter, homeopath, mailman, electrician, gardener, goldsmith, DDT sprayer, etc. Their activities as a *jhãkri* generally took place at night. They all agreed that being a *jhãkri* was perhaps a privilege but at the same time a tiresome burden with considerable responsibilities. It is exhausting to be possessed by spirits and the good *jhãkri*, often called for nocturnal consultations, frequently suffers from lack of sleep. This essentially nocturnal activity of the *jhãkri*, coupled with the fact that the *jhãkri* tradition is entirely oral, explains why Western research on the *jhãkri* is so limited. I too, along with Mr. Kawakita, have heard of ancient books. It is possible that these books exist or have existed, but I have never seen them.

The jhãkri's drum is called a *dhyãṅro*,[13] the curved baton with which he beats the drum is a *gajo*.[14] The drum and baton constitute

the minimum equipment of the practitioner: and it is by the sound of the drum echoing far in the night that one knows a *jhãkri* is at work. For routine consultations, the *jhãkri* does not wear special clothes. I will speak later of the costume and gear of the *jhãkri* at the time of the *guru pūjā*.

When and how does one become a *jhãkri?* Generally, but not always, it happens rather young (approximately between the ages of 8 and 14) at the time of a physical and psychological crisis. When an informant is questioned about the nature of this crisis, he often answers in generalities; he did not feel well, he began trembling, he met spirits who taught him certain things which were later classified and clarified by a *jhãkri* of whom he became the *celo*. The details concerning the crisis and the training of the *jhãkri* vary greatly, and rather than immediately formulating a theoretical model, I prefer to relate *in extenso* the account a *jhãkri* gave me of his own initiation. It seems important to take into account the way in which the subjects themselves relate their experiences, (cf. Friedrich and Buddruss *Schananen-Geschichten aus Siberien, Munich,* 1955) since the common belief in the validity of these experiences constitutes the religious and psychological foundation upon which is founded the sociological existence of the *jhãkri*. The greater part of the Nepali-speaking population does not doubt the authenticity of these experiences. To give only one example, I knew a Damai (caste of tailors) who exhibited progressive political views and who often bitterly criticized the 'old ways of doing things' with regard to religious rituals. He generally entrusted himself to the care of Bengali or European doctors. This same man, however, complaining of a stomach disorder, was not hesitant to seek treatment from a Tamang *jhãkri* - who moreover treated him with a certain amount of success. The southernly slopes of the Himalayas form a region generally characterized by religious and social tolerance.[15]

Following is the account of Gobind Prasad Rasaili; I have translated it as literally as possible, which explains certain repetitions and the awkwardness of expression. I have replaced the first person by 'Gobind Prasad', etc., in order that the reader may better understand the events. The Rasaili are a sub-caste of the Viśvakarma and Gobind Prasad's *gotra* is that of Kaśyap Rsi.[16]

Gobind Prasad was 34 years of age in 1959. He was born in Sumbuk Basti, near the Namchi Post Office in Sikkim.[17] His father was a *sardār* on a tea plantation in Darjeeling before retiring to Sikkim. Gobind Prasad came to Darjeeling at the age of 16. He is presently working as a goldsmith in a shop near the Chowk Bazaar, in the centre of the town. He is married and has three sons.

At the age of 13, Gobind Prasad fell ill while working in the fields near Manpur in Sikkim. He had a high fever, his legs became stiff, and he wanted neither to eat nor drink. He dribbled at the mouth. The villagers told him he had malaria. This was in the

month of Aṡar (June 15 - July 15).[18] For three months, he stayed in bed. During this time his father died.

At the time when Gobind Prasad took to bed, a small boy came to see him. This boy wore white Nepali clothing, his golden hair was long and fell to his knees. His face was red like a *khursāni*.[19] He came to Gobind Prasad's house twice a day for seven days. At 7.00 in the morning and towards 4.00 in the afternoon he gave Gobind Prasad tea with milk and helped him drink. Each time, he also gave him a small, white, sugary pill. He would raise Gobind Prasad by the shoulders to help him drink. At the end of the seven days, the boy returned at night. This time, he brought along a leaf of *kaṭus*,[20] *amliso*,[21] and a *ghuṅriṅ*.[22] He also brought a small saucer made of white stone and filled with sand. He opened the door himself and called three times, 'Gobind Prasad!' There were six or seven other people in the room, and they were all very frightened. Gobind Prasad's maternal uncle *(māmā)*[23] was among these people. The boy put the lamp next to Gobind Prasad's bed and lit it. There was no *ghiu* (melted butter) in the lamp, and the lamp burned with a blue flame. Everything became very dark: no one spoke for they were all very frightened. The boy took a *rudrācchemālā*[24] from around his neck and put it around the neck of Gobind Prasad. He said some *mantra*, wiped Gobind Prasad's body with the leaves, helped him to a standing position, and then put him back to bed. He then said that within 21 days, he would return to get Gobind Prasad. 'If someone else comes to get you before the 21st day you will die. But do not be afraid.' Thereupon three young girls with long balck hair down to their knees entered the room. Each was dressed in a green, red and white *sāri* that they wore over the shoulder. The girls looked at Gobind Prasad and said that they too would return for Gobind Prasad on the 21st day: 'We will leave you now. Your mother also will soon die but do not be afraid. You will be all alone, but we will help you.' The boy added, 'You must not be afraid. We will return within 21 days, but the 18th day, you will be severely ill.' With these words, the boy and girls left.

After this visit, Gobind Prasad's mother and uncle wanted to give him food, but he could eat nothing. Little by little, he became more ill and the 18th day, around 5.00 in the afternoon, he fainted. The others in the room believed him to be dead and said so; others prepared tea for those who would come to keep vigil over the corpse. At nightfall, friends and relatives arrived and, crying, gathered around the corpse.

At midnight, someone came to the door and called three times: 'Gobind Prasad!' The people in the room heard the voice and, thinking it was a *masān*,[25] were afraid. They examined Gobind Prasad and tried to give him some water. His chest was warm, as was the top of his head. Suddenly, for the first time in weeks, Gobind Prasad raised his right arm. They tried to awaken him, for he seemed alive. His hand fell back down. They could find no trace of pulse nor of breathing, but he was warm. The people said that for three days he seemed to be unconscious.

During this time, Gobind Prasad felt that, as if in a dream *(sapanā)*, he was climbing a very high mountain. He walked behind the boy who from time to time looked back to say, 'Come, *dāju* (elder brother)'. They climbed one behind the other until they reached a place where there was a large, circular house surrounded by flowers. The house was made of white stone; on the roof there was snow. The house had four doors, but no balconies nor windows, and it was located atop a mountain. 'Here is Himālgiri, Sumerugiri',said the boy. They entered the house by the West door. The room in which they found themselves was lined with two sets of shelves. On the upper row, there were 21 small white stone lamps that glowed. On the bottom row were books, manuscripts written on square pieces of *pahāri* paper. The boy pointed to the books and said they contained *mantra*. He then opened the East door and said to Gobind Prasad: 'How far can you see from here? What do you see?' Gobind Prasad looked and said that he saw something in the distance, sometimes sunbeams, sometimes moonlight. 'That must be the sun and the moon', he said. The boy said that was good, that was right, and that he would open the North door. When the door was opened Gobind Prasad saw in the distance Mahādeo, wearing a tiger skin, holding a *triśūl* and a small baton in his right hand and facing Gobind Prasad. The latter said 'I am afraid. Close the door, please. I can go no further.' The child answered: 'Why are you afraid? It is my father.' Gobind Prasad saw that Mahādeo's mouth, lips and teeth were all red: it was because of this that he was so frightened. The boy said, 'Do not worry. I will call him and you can sit on my knees.' 'How can I do that?' asked Gobind Prasad. 'You are small and I am big. I cannot sit on your knees.' The boy sat down calmly, his hands clasped as if he were praying. Suddenly Gobind Prasad saw that Mahādeo was very close and smiling. 'Thank you, my boy, thank you: *tathā astuti*, it is good.' The boy drew Gobind Prasad onto his knees and Gobind Prasad realized that the latter had become very big, with a long, white moustache and a beautiful beard and a *ṭiko* in the form of a *triśūl* on his forehead. He held a *ḍhyāṅro* in one hand and a *gajo* in the other. He wore a long white coat with a wide red belt, and his pants were the white pants of the Nepalis. At the right on his belt hung the tail of a white yak; at the left, the tail of a black yak. In the belt in front of him was a *thurmi* in the form of an arrow.[26] His hair was brown and very long, and he wore nothing on his head.[27] 'Do not be afraid,' he said, 'I am your younger brother *(bhāi)*.' Then Mahādeo disappeared, and the boy returned to his normal size. He said: 'You saw my father. You have seen my temple. Now we must have *parsād*.'[28] On a stone tray, he served Gobind Prasad milk and rice cooked in milk. He took the tray from a small sack,[29] saying: 'My father gave me this for you. This place is my temple. The place where I live is the river Tukharni where the copper mines are. I am not the only member of my family. I have six brothers, older and younger, I am the third son. My mother also lives in the Himalayas. Later I will also show you my mother.' After they had eaten, they went towards the door by which they had entered the house. The child sat down facing the door, hands clasped. The door opened, and Gobind Prasad noticed that the

Himalayas were very near. Near the door and facing him was a lady seated on a lion; two young girls were at her right, one at her left. All three smiled at Gobind Prasad.[30] The woman was dressed in red, and had long black hair: she held nothing in her hands. The girls were dressed just as they were when they had previously come to the door of Gobind Prasad's room. The lion was brown with a long mane. Upon seeing Gobind Prasad, the lion roared and tried to catch him, but the woman calmed the lion. Then the boy closed the door again, and led Gobind Prasad back inside. He then said to Gobind Prasad: 'My brothers are not here now. They are in the Tukharni valley. There is still another door, but I cannot let you see what is on the other side. Your dead father is there with Yamarāj: I do not want you to see them.

Gobind Prasad stayed in the white house for three days in the company of the boy. They ate rice and milk, and remained very calm. Then the boy brought Gobind Prasad back to the bottom of the mountain to his room. Before leaving Gobind Prasad alone in his bed, the boy told the other people in the room: 'Do nothing to this man. Do not touch him.' And then he left. Those who heard the boy's voice at the door were very frightened. Gobind Prasad made a small movement during his sellp. The men in the room cried and said: 'Is he really dead? Did a *masān* take possession of him?' Since the majority believed Gobind Prasad was dead, they covered his body with a cloth. But his maternal uncle said: 'I do not care what happens to me, whether I die or not, I must know the truth,' and he removed the shroud from Gobind Prasad. When the uncle saw that the body was very cold, he also was convinced of his nephew's death.

In the morning, friends and relatives began making a bamboo stretcher to take Gobind Prasad to the *ghat*.[31] The majority of those present were Rai and Lepcha. There were women as well as men. They cut two long bamboos and a third to make the crosspieces. Until then they had not taken the exact measurements of the body. When they measured, they were surprised to see that the bamboo they had cut was the wrong size. Other peices were cut: the measurements again proved to be inaccurate. They could not understand, and so decided to remove the shroud. Inside the material, there was nothing.

All those present began whining and screaming: 'Where did he go?' They wondered if what happened was a result of the voice's warning them the previous day not to touch Gobind Prasad. They began looking everywhere for Gobind Prasad, and informed the village authorities of what had happened. This all took place in the morning, 21 days after the child's first nocturnal visit.

In the village there lived a *sādhu* by the name of Dhanbahadur Rai. He was a Kabiraj *sādhu* (Turner *ibid*:84b). He had gone off early that morning to cut grass for his horse. He climbed a hill above a field belonging to Gobind Prasad's family. In this field

there was a *Simhadevīthān.*[32] The hill upon which Dhanbahadur Rai climbed was nine bamboos high. Half way up, Dhanabahadur suddenly noticed that a corpse was suspended from the trunk of a *jhākrikāth* (Turner 1931:231b) that grew perpendicular to the slope. The corpse was balanced on the stomach, with the arms hanging at one side, the legs at the other. Dhanbahadur was at once uneasy and angry. 'Who threw that corpse there?' he yelled. He made so much noise that many villagers came running. They wondered how they could lower the corpse from the tree, since the *sādhu* had only his *sānle* (Turner 1931:597b) with him. If they swung the corpse, it might fall on someone. With the means at their disposal the men could not bring the corpse down. But the *sādhu* insisted: 'One way or another, we must bring it down. If it is possessed by a *saitān*,[33] it will eat people. Anything could happen and we will have trouble'. They therefore left for the village to fetch two cords, which they then attached to the corpse. Fifteen or twenty men, pulling from above, tried to lower the corpse to the ground. They succeeded in freeing it from the tree, but had much difficultly untying the knots that enclosed the corpse. When they finally succeeded, they found nothing inside the knots. The corpse ran headlong towards the bottom of the hill. Gobind Prasad (that is, the corpse) returned full-speed to his house. He entered the house, but said nothing. His mother, crying, hugged him.[34] As soon as she touched him, he began trembling, and continued trembling the entire day,[35] without drinking, eating or saying a word.

The family members summoned a *bijuwā*[36] from the Rasaili sub-caste called Mangale Seti. As soon as he was with Gobind Prasad, he said, 'He was taken by a *masān*. Today I can do nothing. Tomarrow I will perhaps be able to do something'. The family did not seem satisfied with this answer, and they left to find another *jhākri*, of the Rai caste, named Roji Bijuwa. This Rai said he could do nothing. He nevertheless tried, several *mantra*, but without success. 'He was taken by a *ban deuta'*,[37] he said. Then another *jhākri* from the sub-caste Shanker arrived; he was called Mangale. This *jhākri* said: 'It is agreed. I will cure him. But I will need two men to beat the drum, 25 rupees, a red cock, five bottles of *raksi* (Turner 1931:525b, 524a), a *pāthi* (Meerendonk 1959:245) of rice. If you accept the expense, come for me at my home', and he left. Gobind Prasad's mother collected the necessary payment with the help of the neighbours and went with several friends to the jhākri's house. The jhākri left for Gobind Prasad's house, carrying his *mālā*, his *ḍhyāṅro* in his hand. When Mangale arrived at the door of Gobind Prasad's room, the latter's trembling subsided. Mangale began calling his own *deutā* (Mangale *jhākri)* and when this *deutā* came to him he began shaking violently. Mangale said to Gobind Prasad: 'You are surely a *deutā*, a *bhut*, (Turner 1931:479b) a *masān* or a *boksi* (witch) (Turner 1931:461a). Who are you? Say who you are. Until you tell me, I will whip you with thorns and I will give you bad *dhup'* (Turner 1931:330a). Gobind Prasad became very red and

answered: 'You do not know me. Do as you please!' On the fire was a very hot tripod *(odhān)*. Mangale took it, put the tripod on his shoulders. Gobind Prasad said: 'For me, that is nothing', and he grabbed the tripod, took it from Mangale's shoulders and put it on the ground. Gobind Prasad then said: 'You try to frighten me with all that. Do you want to see what I myself can do?' He got up and sat in the fire. Neither his clothes nor his person was burned. Gobind Prasad then got out of the fire, sat down in front of Mangale's *pūjā thān* and said: 'Now I am going to come onto your body'. Suddenly Gobind Prasad felt better. Mangale however began shaking violently, ran into the fire, was burned, ran out of the fire and into a thicket of thorns where he was scratched, ran from the thicket only to fall into the latrines. He succeeded in getting out of the latrines and ran quickly towards the river Jukharni, 1¼ miles from the house. A half hour later, he returned, still shaking. He took his place before his *pūjā thān* and after a while, the *deutā* left his body and returned to Gobind Prasad's.

At that time, Gobind Prasad was seated at some distance from the *pūjā thān* and his mother was giving him tea. He began again to tremble violently and said: 'You do not know me. You asked me nothing. But I am *ban bāsi* (savage, jungle-dweller) *ban-jhākri*. My name is Balsingh jhākri. You cannot touch me. You cannot make me your *celo*. If you want to see my power, look, I will enter your *ḍhyāṅro'*. Mangale's drum began playing. 'Now I will leave your *ḍhyāṅro* and enter your *kalas* (Turner 1931:79a)'. The drum stopped, and the *kalas* started to shake. Everyone - there were about 35 men present - was very surprised and frightened. Gobind Prasad then said: 'Now I will return to the body of my *celo'*, and Gobind Prasad again trembled violently. Mangale therefore took five rupees, a cock, a bottle of *raksi* and put them at the feet of Gobind Prasad. Mangale then said: 'I can do nothing against this *deutā*. Let us try the Lepcha *bijwāmi*[38] called Yaṅkit'. Yankit's house was approximately one quarter mile from Prasad's family's house. Mangale, Gobind Prasad's mother, Gobind Prasad, and numerous villagers went to her house.

After having seen Gobind Prasad Yankit said: 'Very well. I will make him my pupil. But within three months, I also will die'. She led Gobind Prasad to his *mandir*[50] and there she transferred her *deutā* and he paid tribute to hers. During the night, the *deutā* said that Gobind Prasad's mother would die in the month of Māgh (January-February) - and this did indeed happen. Yankit lit three wicks which she put in Gobind Prasad's mouth. He swallowed them, feeling nothing. When she struck him with a black yak's tail, he ceased to tremble. When she struck him with a white yak's tail, he began trembling again. She taught him two short *mantra*,[40] and said: 'Everything you wish to know, I shall teach you'. At the end of the night, he stopped trembling. She gave him a garland, put a *ṭiko* on this forehead and sent him back home, saying that within three days she would come and personally teach him every thing.

For three days, Gobind Prasad rested at home. When he awoke on the morning of the third day, he had the feeling that the *ban deutā* would come to him. When he ate *piṭho* (Turner 1931:380b) with his tea, his mouth remained wide open. Throughout the entire day he could not close his mouth. In the evening, after having gone for water, his mother suddenly saw the boy on the road, and he said: 'Go away from here! Leave this path'. Panic-stricken, she dropped the water she was carrying and ran away as fast as she could. The boy then entered Gobind Prasad's house. He carried a *ghuṅrin* in his belt. He put the *ghuṅrin* in Gobind Prasad's mouth. Something resembling milk flowed from the *ghuṅrin* it tasted and smelled like milk. Gobind Prasad swallowed several drops and suddenly realised he could close his mouth. He drank more of this 'milk'. Then he felt completely well and free. His illness had disappeared. Gobind Prasad's younger brother was also there, and he too saw the young boy.[41] The latter said to Gobind Prasad: 'From now on I will no longer show you my face as I do now. In the future, I will come to you like the wind. When you were sick, I came to save you from your sickness and from death and to prove to the others that there are *deutā*'. He then gave Gobind Prasad a *mulmantra*. 'If you say this *mantra* at any time whatsoever, it will save you from danger and bad influences'. Thereupon he left.

During the two months that Gobind Prasad pursued his training under the direction of Yankit, nothing exceptional happened. Once, towards midnight, Gobind Prasad began trembling. The boy came to him: 'If you have troubles, think of me and I will come. When you summon me, offer *dhup*, call me and I will come onto your body. I will watch over you and I will help you. If you go to cure other men, I will accompany you with my presence. If you meet tigers, snakes or other dangerous animals, I will place myself before you and I will protect you'. Then he left. Gobind Prasad became calm again. He learned 700 or 800 *mantra* from Yankit during these three months. At the end of this period, Yankit died. This is why Gobind Prasad has no living master. He himself has no pupils in Darjeeling, for he does not like to show his knowledge. But he has some pupils in Sikkim.

Although the details are somewhat obscure, this account sheds some light on the manifestations and consequences of the above-mentioned crisis. We immediately see the close association between spirits and men which we must now attempt to make clear.[42] If the reader, who had been rather abruptly immersed in this account, feels a bit disoriented, his confusion somewhat resembles that of the patient who for the first time calls upon the services of a *jhākri*; he does not clearly understand his uneasiness and looks for points of reference.

The *jhākri*, possessed by a spirit[43] he did not summon and whose very name he does not know at the outset, must later perfect his training under the direction of a *guru*. According to my

information, the master instructs his pupil piecemeal; he gives him *mantra*, bits of 'mythology', *pūjā* and curing techniques, ritual instructions and all this in bulk. The teaching takes place when both master and pupil have the time. There are slowdowns, standstills, and then feverish training sessions. The programme also depends on the demands of the clientele. It is clear, however, that *we* cannot proceed in this manner: we are obliged to proceed in a logical fashion in order to attempt to give an overview of the relations between the *jhãkri* and the society on one hand, and between the *jhãkri* and the world of spirits on the other. But in the end we will be in the same situation as the *jhãkri* with regard to his knowledge: we will arrive at a more or less complete understanding. All *jhãkri* are not scholars. I knew some who were more or less gifted for languages, more or less marked by Hindu or Nepali culture, more or less intellectually curious, more or less inclined to travel. Each *jhãkri* has his own personality and his own reputation, which is a curious mixture of hearsay, respect for his knowledge, for his skill, for his cures, real or imaginary (especially if the latter are spectacular). I have never heard a judgement made on a *jhãkri* with regard to his caste. What seems to be most important to his clients is the authenticity of the jhãkri's spiritual experience.[44] From some *jhãkri* little is expected: they are known to be drunkards, cheats, practical jokers. Nevertheless, there will always be a clientele to call upon them in order to spend an entertaining evening, to hear the drum, prepare the *thān* (children especially like the cookery aspect of the ritual), hear the names of feared spirits recited, see the *jhãkri* fall into a trance and give advice that they, the clients, can mull over in their spare time on following days. Even if the *jhãkri* are not seriously believed in, they provide, in a world where entertainment is rare, a living spectacle, where the unexpected is not lacking and for which it is worthwhile to spend a few rupees. Some *jhãkri*, on the other hand, are serious, modest, sure of themselves, well informed and inspire respect even from the foreign ethnologist. It is of this second category that I wish to speak. But it must not be forgotten that these men are essentially interpreters of a certain form of culture, and that it is characteristic of an interpreter to have variable gifts and competencies. A good *jhãkri*, like a good pianist in our culture, can give a bad performance.

Who was the first *jhãkri?* The majority agree on Mahadeo. Mahadeo and a *bhoṭiyā* lama met on Mount Kailas. The two competed to draw forth from the jungle, using nothing but *mantra*, the following objects: 1) a *ghuṅrin* (see footnote no.[24]); 2) a *rudrācchemāla* (see footnote no.[22]); 3) *dumsi ko kãro*.[45] By the same means, they also tried to fill an empty *kalas*[46] with water and go to the sun. Mahādeo caused a *ghuṅrin* and a piece of *kāulo* (Turner 1931:82a) to come out: the lama attracted a *ṭaṭalo* (Turner 1931:239a) flower and a piece of *kāulo*. Mahādeo drew forth *rudracchemālā*; the lama a *phreṅ-ba* (rosary). Mahādeo brought out *dumsi ko kãro* the lama a

prayer wheel. Mahādeo filled a *kalas* with water; the lama drew out a book of *mantra (mdo-maṅ)* and a *gtor-ma* (sacrificial cake). Mahādeo arrived halfway to the sun, but everything became dark and he could no longer follow the path; the lama arrived at the sun. Since the lama had caused additional objects and a greater number of objects to come forth from the jungle, and since Mahādeo had not succeeded in reaching the sun, the latter became angry and began to construct a drum. With this drum he would be able to reach the sun. It was agreed that henceforth the lama would perform their *pūjā* during the day, whereas Mahādeo would perform his at night.[47] Mahādeo and the lama then separated and each settled down in different parts of Mount Kailas.[48]

How was Mahādeo's drum made? Mahādeo sent the *dumsi ko kāṛo* into the jungle to bring back *siṅaro* (Turner 1931:605b) wood from which to make the frame of the drum. Then he sent the *kā̃ṛo* and the *kāulo* to the Himalayas in search of a deer. The *kā̃ṛo* watched over the deer and the *kāulo* closed the deer's eyes. Mahādeo waited for three days without doing anything else to the animal; then he skinned it without killing it. From the skin, he made the drum heads. Then he sent the *ghuṅrin* to fetch *bet* (Turner 1931: 465a) from which to make the straps to brace the drum heads. Mahādeo had an assistant by the name of Sime.[49] He sent Sime to Modes (the plains of India) to look for *dubho*.[50] Sime brought back seven *dubho* branches. Upon the order of Mahādeo, he again set out to bring back *rudrācche* from Kailas. After having done this, he again left for Modes and brought back *riṭṭho* (Turner 1931:537b). Mahādeo closed the drum by attaching the *ṃurrā* (handle). Before closing it, he put seven blades of *dubho* and a *rudrācche* inside. He then made five *riṭṭho-mālā* and seven *rudrācche mālā*. Then he sent the *dumsi ko kā̃ṛo* to a region between Modes and the Himalayas to find a hen. They found one and brought it back. Upon their return, Sime attached the hen near Mahadeo. The hen laid no eggs, and Mahādeo ordered that she be released. Although she was freed, the hen stayed near Mahādeo, and 17 days after her arrival, she laid an egg. A red dog arrived. Mahādeo did not know where it came from. The dog walked around a bit and then approached the lama. The lama, irritated, killed the dog with a *bajra dhuṅgo* (lightning stone); that is, the stone and not the lama killed the dog. The dog's *hansa* (Turner 1931:628a) approached Mahādeo's drum. The dog's spirit assumed the role of guardian of the drum and the egg. In Mahādeo's absence, the dog's spirit watched over his gear and protected it from thieves. However, the dog's barking annoyed Sime, who complained to Mahādeo. Mahādeo made a bow and arrows, put them with the egg and drum, and told the dog he could use them as he wished. And Mahādeo told the dog that Sime could have access to them, also. From that day on, the dog, with his bow and arrows, was known by the name of Siriṅ Sikāri. This was the first Sikāri.[51] Today, tradition distinguishes 16 Sikāri. Here are their names and characteristics:

1) Ekle sikāri: the lone hunter. He is the assistant to the others.

2) Lāwāri sikāri: the colour-bearer. He leads the *sikāri* troupe, carrying the seven-coloured flag: white, red, blue, green, yellow, light blue and cream. *Lāwā* means 'flag'. It is made of a long cherrywood staff, surmounted by an iron spearhead. Various coloured cloths are attached to an iron ring at the base of the tip. The whole thing is called barcho.

3) Bagāli sikāri: the guardian of the troupe. *Bagālinu* means 'to group together'.

4) Chamung sikāri: this one is bad. If seen at the time of a *pūjā*, he may jeopardize the *pūjā*'s success. This name is perhaps related to *chamkanu*, 'to be insolent'.

5) Khurma sikāri: throws needles out from the earth. Inflicts illnesses such as sciatica (*khuro* means 'pin').

6) Namruṅ sikāri: found under fruits and flowers, he protects. He is good.

7) Bajra sikāri: lightning (*bajra* = lightning).

8) Chalenā sikāri: makes fun of people. He is at once good and bad. (*chale* (adj.) = 'to pretend').

9) Kheluwa sikari: plays everywhere (*khelnu* = to play).

10) Sarmā sikāri: binds people by inflicting attacks of paralysis.

11) Siddha sikāri: causes internal haemorrhage.

12) Sama cheriṅ chatmaghe sikāri: if he is not properly worshipped, he inflicts fatal pains of the stomach and heart.

13) Raktaban sikāri: causes haemorrhages (*rakta* = blood).

14) Bān sikāri: moves about like the wind and knocks people over (Turner, p.433: 'the paralysis is said to be caused by jungle spirits who shoot the sufferer'); (*bān* = arrow).

15) Kali sikāri: black, like a black *bhut*.

16) Solasarma sikāri: if people speak badly of him, he immobilizes them on the spot.

When men are sick, the *jhãkri* must name the 16 *sikāri* and designate the one responsible for the illness. He says some *mantra*

and wipes the sufferer with a white cloth. He must then sacrifice a cock (of any colour). If there is no cock, he must sacrifice 16 hen's eggs. The *jhākri* wipes the patient with these eggs and then, without having broken them, throws them into an abandoned spot. If I said there were 16 *sikāri*,[52] it is because the legend mentions this number while maintaining, as we shall see, that there are only 7 *jhākri*. In reality, there are many more than seven human *jhākri*, and every Nepali is to some extent a *sikari*.

After a certain time, Mahādeo decided that he perhaps did not need all the objects that he had made. If he found a man who would pay tribute to him, he would give him these objects. On the night of Rikhitarpani,[53] Mahādeo went to a place where people were bathing. A small boy from the jungle was washing himself. The boy was called Lāṭo (Turner 1931:553b). After having bathed, he made a *pūjā* to Śiva. Mahādeo said: 'Where did you come from? Who are you?' 'Me, oh I live in the jungle and I eat fruit.' 'Why do you make your *pūjā* like that?' 'I would like to see Śivaji. I do not know my mother or my father but I want to see Śivaji.' Mahādeo said: 'My name is Rudra Mahādeo. I have never seen Śiva either.' Mahādeo reflected: 'If this boy loves Śiva so much, why not give him all my things?' He therefore led the boy to see the objects he had made. But the boy continued saying that he wanted to see Śavaji. Mahādeo told him: 'Stay here and wait. You will see him.' Mahādeo left and changed his appearance. Previously, he had long hair, wore a tiger skin and a *rudrācchemālā*; he returned with his long hair hidden behind the nape of his neck, wearing a deerskin and a *riṭṭhomālā*. He said to the boy: 'What are you doing there? What do you want?' The boy told him what had happened. Mahādeo said: 'I am Śivaji. From this day on, you must worship Mahādeo and not Śiva.' Then he left, and resumed his usual appearance. He returned to the boy and said: 'So! Did you have a *darsan* of Śiva and what did he say?' The boy related exactly what had happened. 'So, what are you going to do?' asked Mahādeo. 'I will adore them both: I cannot give up Śiva,' was his answer. Mahādeo was delighted, and said he would give the boy what he wanted. The boy asked for the objects Mahādeo had shown him. Mahādeo said: 'But what will you do with them?'. The boy replied that he would do as Mahādeo wished. The divinity taught him how to use these objects and how to cure men, and said: 'Go wherever there are men, and teach them as I have taught you. Where will you live? I would like to know so that I can find you again.' The boy said: 'Since I have no home, I will have to live in the jungle.' From this day on, Mahādeo therefore called the boy his *ban jhākri* and said: 'Go where you will. Bring people into the jungle to teach them.' The boy followed the god's instructions and took as his first pupil a young Brahman.[54]

Here we have therefore the first master and his pupil. There are presently many[55] human *jhākri*, but legend generally distinguishes a group of six or seven, a sort of prototype of the present day

jhãkri brotherhood. These 'legendary' *jhãkri* do no evil; they are all *ban deutā*. They help people who are seriously ill. In order to do this, they choose unmarried young men of less than 21, who suffer neither from skin diseases, bowel disorders, nor burns, bring them to the jungle and teach them to cure people. They do not bring girls[56] or 'shady characters' from the cities. They keep the boys for 3, 5, 7 or 13 days or for 3, 5, 7 or 13 years, and then bring them back to where they initially met them. There are no external signs indicating that a boy has been taken by a *ban jhãkri*. Here is a list, among others, of the first *jhãkri:* Rittai-jhãkri, Lāṭo-jhãkri, Balsingh jhãkri, Sun-jhãkri Laṭhe-jhãkri, Bhairab-jhãkri, Bala jhãkri. Gobind Prasad provided me with this list. We immediately notice that the third *jhãkri* on the list has a man's name whereas the others have descriptive epithets.[57] We see therefore how Balsingh jhãkri, alias Gobind Prasad, stands with relation to his six older and younger brothers. The gear worn by Gobind Prasad when he officiates at, for example, a *gurupūjā*, once more emphasizes these relations. He wears four *rudrācchemālā*. Let us call them 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D'. The boy who visited Gobind Prasad at the time of his illness gave him the first *rudrācche* necklace. Gobind Prasad left this necklace in Sikkim. He replaced it with an identical one that he found hanging on a tree near the river Teesta subsequent to a prophetic dream. To the 108 *rudrācche* that form the necklace, Gobind Prasad himself added two *ghaṇṭi* (Turner 1931:153b) and six *ghuṅri* (Turner 1931:150a) (divided 3, 2, 1) that he himself made. 'A' is the sign of Mahādeo, and it is called Balsingh-jhãkri. Without it, Gobind Prasad is powerless. This necklace is put over his shoulders and hangs in a U form on his chest and back. Unlike 'B', 'C', and 'D' it is not worn as a bandoleer. The thread of 'A' is red, whereas the others have a black thread. 'B' is composed of 78 beads of which 74 are *rudrācche*, 3 are small black bells representing Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara and the last is a black bell representing Rittai-jhãkri. 'C' is composed of 78 *rudrācche* 2 *ghuṅri* and 2 *ghaṇṭi* are attached. This necklace is the sign of Lāṭo-jhãkri, Laṭhe-jhãkri and Sun-jhãkri. 'D' is composed of 108 *rudrācche* without *ghuṅri* or *ghaṇṭi*. This is the sign of Bala-jhãkri. Thus, when Gobind Prasad puts on these necklaces, he dons, so to speak, his relations with his brothers.[58]

We have sketched above the relations between the *sikāri* and the *jhãkri*. Another group, this time of women, is that of the *ban ko burheni*.[59] There are seven of them and they cause illness and necessitate *pūjā*: 1) *Laṭṭe burheni*:[60] makes one mute, deaf and blind. She is found in hot and cold places. 2) *Kāli burheni:* acts like No. 1, and is her partner. She lives in the jungles of the Himalayas. 3) *Seti burheni:* she has a white face.[61] She pulls on people's nerves. 4) *Chamki burheni:* she pulls on people's eyelids and hair. She walks in plains, sandy places and bamboo thickets.[62] 5) *Khuṭ Khaṭṭai burheni:* leaves hen-like footprints. Anyone who follows these footprints becomes crazy and dies. Her face is black, as are her clothes; because of this she is different from the other six

burheni who dress in white.[63] 6) *Thāhme burheni:* her clothes are dirty and crumpled. She causes headaches, sneezing, coughing and the flu.[64] 7) *Phurluh bagali burheni:* she bothers people who are eating. She causes sneezing and yawning. If she attacks, her attack is always followed by that of the other six.[65] The sacrifices made to these *burheni* consist of flowers, fresh fruit, ginger, egg and honey, betel-nut, betel leaves, spices and *sāl dhup* (incense). While offering *sāl dhup*, prayers are said to the group of seven *burheni*. At the same time, Acyut sikāri[66] must be honoured. The latter resembles a Lepcha, but he is in fact a Nepali; he wears white pants, a white shirt, has hair worn long but cut in bangs on his forehead: he carries a *cyāpso* (Turner 1931:188b). He helps the seven *burheni* but he himself causes no particular illness. These seven *burheni* also command the seven *sok-pā*. These are giants, with hairy bodies like monkeys. They walk on two feet and leave 18-inch footprints. They kill animals, buffalo in particular, but they do not attack men.[67]

We see that *jhākri* thought does not embrace the same world of relationships as classical Hinduism. The *jhākri* and his clientele are more or less Hinduized, but are also often influenced by Tibetan culture. To give an idea of their vision of Indo-Tibetan cultural relations, here is how the evangelization of Tibet was explained to me. A ṛṣi (they did not seem to agree on his name) left India to bring the four Veda to Tibet. At that time, Tibet was inhabited solely by *rākṣas* (sk. *rākṣasa)*. Thanks to the repeated teachings of the Veda, the *rākṣas* were transformed into men. This first attempt at cultural colonization must however be considered a failure. It was followed by another attempt, this time Buddhist. One day, Buddha bhagawān's *celo* complained to him about the alimentary habits of the Tibetans: the latter ate human flesh. To put an end to this practice, the Buddha went to Lhasa and advised the Tibetans to stop eating their brothers and to eat him instead. They answered: 'Since you are of royal family, your flesh must be good: we therefore agree to do what you ask.' Buddha said: 'You may begin with my feet.' He crossed his right leg over his left, and called Agni deutā to help him. 'Eat me,' said the Buddha to the Tibetans. Each time they tried to eat him, Agni deutā protected the Buddha with fire and prevented the Tibetans from approaching his feet. 'Why do you not eat me?' asked the Buddha. 'We cannot.' 'In that case, you must stop eating men,' was the response. At first the Tibetans insisted, saying that they wanted very much to eat men. Finally the Buddha succeeded in convincing them that it was better to eat other kinds of flesh and even say some prayers before eating anything at all. To persuade them, he gave them prayer-wheels to hold in one hand and rosaries for the other. He commanded them to kill nothing, neither man nor animal, and to eat only what died a natural death. They finally accepted and the Buddha told them: 'You must keep an image of me in each of your houses, and to remind yourselves of what fire can do, you must

also keep a lamp lit in each house.' And he gave them as *mulmantra* 'Om mani padme hum'.

This cultural anecdote is perhaps not to be taken literally, but it sheds light on popular thought that has been until now overlooked. The people on whom the *jhãkri* exerts his influence care little about historical truth and read almost no religious texts. Only few of the pandits in Darjeeling itself can easily handle Sanskrit. I personally have attended Hindu *pūjā*, with text in hand, and found that the officiant clearly understood little of the text he was reading and merely summarized the difficult passages in a savoury mixture of Hindi and Nepāli that his audience could at least understand. Everything quickly becomes *mantra* in such an atmosphere.

We have cited some spirits with which the *jhãkri* come in contact. There is some uncertainty with regard to the classification of some spirits as good or bad. My notes do not enable me to generalize on this point.[68] I am reserving for a later work the description of monthly *pūjā* and the jhakri's *gurupūjā*.[69] This will also be the time to elaborate on the nature and relationships of the spirits who alight *ãṅ mā* 'on the back', as they say, of human *jhãkri*. But to situate the *jhãkri* more precisely in his universe, here are certain details concerning the relationship between *jhãkri* and spirits as it is manifested by the *gurupūjā* ritual. Today the majority of *jhãkri* perform this ritual at home; in 1960 only six or seven *jhãkri* came to Observatory Hill, Darjeeling, on this occasion.[70] The *gurupūjā* rites span a period of two days. A *gurupūjā* I attended included rites that lasted 2½ hours the first day, and the following day, from 6.45 p.m. until 6.00 the next morning. During the month of Sāun (July-August), all the *deutā* are supposed to go underground and live alone.[71] At the time of the *janaipurnimā*[72] all these *deutā* emerge and resume their places in this world. If for exceptional reasons a *jhãkri* cannot pay tribute on that day,[73] he apologizes to the *deutā* and fulfills his duties at the full moon of Mansir.[74]

At the time of a *gurupūjā*, the *jhãkri*, while playing his drum, passes through the seven underground levels of the world, which are steps in the mystical circuit through which he travels without leaving his place before the *pūjā thān*. From the depths of the ocean, the *jhãkri* brings the *ses-nāg* to the earth's surface and he then crosses the upper heavens to arrive at the residence of Viṣṇu. Here is a list in local spelling and in descending order of the levels of the world:

Om Viṣṇulok;
Sāt Lok;
Jāp Lok;
Mahar Lok;
Swarga Lok;

Bhoor Lok;
Bhoo Lok;
Atāl;
Bitāl;
Sutāl;
Talatāl;
Mahatāl;
Rasatāl;
Patāl.

As do all the gods, the *jhãkri* then descends to Nepal. He brings home from the holy places a host of great and small *deutā*, not forgetting the local *deutā* of Modes or the Darjeeling region. Then he calls upon his *gurudeutā*. At a given moment, the *jhãkri* mimes the actions of the prototype *jhãkri:* he sows, cultivates, harvests and stores rice, hunts, etc.

I hope I have already shown the complexity of the relations between the *jhãkri* and the world of spirits, and the simplicity of the jhãkri's relationship with men. All men may speak to the *jhãkri* who in turn has access to a multiplicity of *deutā*. If the *jhãkri* recognizes the caste system, he does not appear to be a prisoner of it on the religious level: he may have pupils and a master from either a higher or lower caste than his own. This does not however imply that the *jhãkri* ignores the marriage rules of his caste. The jhãkri's religious personality is, as one might expect, typically Nepali: he is informal, rather given to brawling, curious and resourceful. He is not afraid to descend to the bottom of the ocean nor to climb to the highest peaks. Little given to snobbism, he associates, with the same cheeky respect, with the local divinities of Muglān and the great personages of Śivaism. Often travelling, he is well acquainted with the sacred geographical places of Nepal and his linguistic background is often surprising. When he falls into a trance, he speaks the dialects of the spirits who possess him. Once he has come out of the trance, he no longer remembers the words he has just pronounced.

I do not know to what extent the role of the *jhãkri* in the past was different from his present role. It seems reasonable to assume that, in the past, the jhãkri's role and prestige were somewhat greater. But the written documents are lacking to reconstruct his history. Even the main lines of the jhãkri's evolution remain unknown. Today the *jhãkri* assumes functions that in our western societies are divided among doctors, religious historians, psychiatrists, priests, astrologers. From group to group, *jāt* to *jāt that* to *thar*, the *jhãkri's* role may have varied in the past just as it seems to vary today. At the beginning of the 19th century, Francis Hamilton *(An account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819:25) said: 'Each tribe appears originally to have had a priesthood and deities peculiar to itself...' Many informants told me that, formerly, *jhãkri* of their regions played an important

role in funeral ceremonies. They also indicated that even today *jhãkri* (or their local counterparts, *phedangbā*, etc.) in the Eastern Nepali regions of Rai and Limbu, officiate in birth, acquaintance with these areas.

The fact that he does not function as a member of a church, caste or social movement has perhaps spared the *jhãkri* from persecution. He lives on the fringe of the great religious movements, on the outskirts of church conflicts, and perhaps it has always been thus. It is possible that I have overly neglected the context in the presentation of my material, but I have not done this unmindfully. It would be improper to attribute the same world view to a blacksmith who has lived in Calcutta, a Chetri who was a soldier in the plains and a jockey in Darjeeling, and a carpenter who earned his living in Kalimpong and was often called for consultation in Sikkim. Hinduism is insufficient to characterize such different human experiences. We are dealing here with a frontier region that has always been subject to various cultural influences.[75] Specialists in the history of religions will undoubtedly notice the shamanistic influences (Eliade *History of Religions*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1961: 152-186) in my documents, the traces of local cults and ancestral cults, not to mention the Tibetan, Lamaist and Bon influences. The contribution of Hinduism and particularly of Śivaism is fundamental, but we must eventually try to determine the presence or absence of Tantric elements.[76] Perhaps we must even look for distant Taoist influences; we are not so far from Kāmārupa whose sovereign, many centuries ago, asked his Chinese interlocutor for a Sanskrit translation of the *Tao-tó king*.[77] It seems to me premature to attempt a synthesis of these various influences on the basis of our present documentation. Moreover, I want to insist on the fact that the *jhãkri* brings something new to the world of his clientele. He introduces them to a terminology, a new system of magico-religious relationships and proposes new causes for ancient ills. Upon preexistent beliefs, the *jhãkri* 'grafts' his own interpretation, fruit of his own experience and his personal training. The integration into a new ensemble may be and often is purely temporary. This integration becomes definitive only when the *jhãkri* integrally transmits his knowledge to a pupil - an exceptional event for the society as a whole. It seems clear to me that the student, in turn, interprets and embellishes the material in terms of his own competency and experience, and so it goes from generation to generation.

A.W. Macdonald

1. *Scientific Results of the Japanese Expedition to Nepal Himalaya, 1952-53*, edited by H. Kihara, Kyoto, 1957.

2. Tucci undoubtedly was careful not to make such a peremptory assertion. Perhaps he wanted to say that the Tibetans call certain Nepali religious activities *bon-po*. For the use of the word *bon-po* by the Tibetans, see D. Snellgrove (*Buddhist Himālaya*, Oxford 1958:269, n. 27).

3. Before we can distinguish the *jhākri* from the other magico-religious specialists of the Himalayas, we must have a clearer idea of what exactly a *jhākri* is.

4. I should like to thank the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and the VIe section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris: my stay in Kalimpong was facilitated by the financial aid of these two organizations. I should also like to thank my friend D.K. Shanker of Darjeeling, to whom I owe my introduction to several *jhākri*.

5. I am using the spelling given by Sir Ralph Turner (*Dictionary*, 231b). This dictionary was in a large part compiled in Darjeeling itself and *jhākri* corresponds to the current pronunciation in this region, where I have not heard the *jangri* or *jhankri* noted by Mr. Kawakita in Nepal, itself. Mr. M.C. Jest (*J.R.A.S.* 1960: 131) mentions 'the *ja-kri* or *jan-kri* a kind of magician intercessor'. These two forms are inaccurate. The *jākrī* of Mr. Snellgrove is also surprising. Mr. G.W. Briggs (*The Doms and their near relations*, Mysore, 1960: 442) writes: 'In the Central Himalayas a class of sorcerers or exorcists is called Jagri or Jagaria. These are a sub-caste of the Hill Doms'. Mr. Briggs quotes Mr. Hutton: 'In Almora the spirit is supposed to enter the Jagaria himself ... the name appears to come from *jigar*, the liver or vitals cf. *jigarkhur*, *jigakhar*, an enchanter, sorcerer'. My friend Bernard Pignede called my attention to the fact that Vansittart (*J.A.S. Bengal*, 1894: 234) cites the name 'Jhankri' among the names of the Thapa clans of the Magar.

6. Muglān is, in my opinion, the name given by the Nepalis to the regions inhabited by Nepalis outside the political boundaries of Nepal. The Nepalis of Muglān are called Muglāne. There seems to be some uncertainty in the use of these terms. Turner (*Dictionary*: 511b) indicates: Muglān 'the country of Hindustan' and Muglāne 'an inhabitant of a country outside Nepal'. The term dates from the period of the Moghul occupation of the North of India.

7. Turner, *Dictionary*: 419b. P. Hermanns (*The Indo-Tibetans*, Bombay, 1954: 80) writes: 'Another being is the bon sacri

'the wild magician' ... the wives of the bon sacri are the Lidini'. This author appears to have misunderstood what his informant said. *Lidi* in Nepali means 'horse dung' (Turner, *Dictionary*: 55b).

8. For example, the article s.v. *conjuring* in the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, London, 1951, vol. 6, p. 260, begins as follows: 'The art of entertaining by pretended performance of those things which cannot be done'.

9. Oldfield (*Sketches from Nipal* 1880, I: 187) wrote: 'There is no class or caste of Baids or doctors; anyone possessing the necessary knowledge may be a doctor.'

10. Certain *jhăkri* seem to have received part of their training in the plains where they had *Ojhā* as masters. T.J. Platts (*A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, London 1884: 103a) derives the word *Ojhā* from Sk. *upādhyāya*. Mr. Briggs (*The Ḍoms...*: 404) and Crooke seem to be of the same opinion although the former has certain reserves. Without wishing to raise a difficult philological problem, I would like to point out that Sk. *upādhyāya* Prakr. *uvajjhaa* 'master' is also at the distant origin of the Chinese (Ch. characters) the title by which Buddhist monks were known in Chinese. Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, 1959: 213) remarks: 'If men of great learning (*po-shih*) were popularly addressed in India by a Prakrit form of *upādhyāya* it is the exact counterpart of what occurred in Central Asia when the same *po-shih* used in I-Ching's text passed into Uighur as *baḫši* and became a designation of Buddhist masters ...'

Concerning the magico-religious role of the *Ojhā*, see, for example, Mr. G.W. Briggs (*op. cit.*: 404-457) and P. Bodding (*The Santals and Disease*, in *Men. A.S. Bengal*, 10,1, 1925: 1-132). Cf. recently Rahmann (*Anthropos*, vol. 54, 1959: 681-760). Possession by spirits is also widespread in southern India (Dumont and Pocock *Contributions to Indian Sociology* no. 111, Paris, 1959b: 55-59) and the index of T. Burrow and Mr. B. Emeneau (*A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961: 593), s.v. possession (by a god or evil spirit).

11. A *guru* my have several *celo*. Nursing Chetri of Darjeeling boasted (1960) of having trained 41 pupils. He had gained the reputation of a specialist in the use of *mohani*, love charms, and because of this was in great demand. When I knew him, he was about 50; he had become a *jhăkri* at the age of 9. Subsequent to a move, a voyage, a change of job, etc., a *jhăkri* may have more than one *guru*. But I think it is rare for him to have two simultaneously in the same region.

12. August-September. Cf., Turner (*Dictionary*: 467b).

13. Turner (*Dictionary*: 269) says simply 'a big drum' and does not point out the association with the *jhākri*. According to my experience, the jhākri's drum is always called this, and I have never heard the word *ḍhyaṅro* applied to other types of drums. The *ḍhyaṅro* is a single-handed drum with two heads (generally made of deerskin and monkeyskin); the handle (*murrā*) is made of wood and always sculptured. I wonder if the 'Tibetan drum with a *phur-bu*-like handle', illustrated in plate IX, facing p. 369 of R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (*Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, The Hague, 1955) is not in fact a *ḍhyaṅro*. Is this drum the same as the 'fine old piece' mentioned by P.H. Pott (*Introduction to the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Leiden, 1951: 128) and plate XVIII-1 of the same work? Mr. Pott does not fail to link the decoration of this drum's handle with that of the Tibetan *phur-bu* and he adds, 'This type of drum is beaten with a bent drumstick having a weighted end covered with leather.' In any case, the two-sided *ḍhyaṅro* does not have the same shape as the *phyed-rṅa* mentioned by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (*Tibetan drum-divination, Nyamo*, in Ethnos 1952: J49-157). As for *rṅa chuṅ*, Minoru Go (*An Eastern Tibetan Dictionary (revised)*, Okayana, 1954: 84) finds the meaning of 'mountain drum'. 'Drum' in Balti is called 'dyang': A.F.C. Read (*Balti Grammar*, London, 1934:94).

14. Turner (*Dictionary*: 133a): 'Rod-the stick used by a *jhãkri* to beat his drum with'. The *jhãkri* holds the drum-handle in his left hand, one side of the drum held at face level. He beats the exterior side of the drum by bringing towards his face the *gajo* that he holds in his right hand. When he is officiating, the *jhãkri* speaks directly to one side of the drum while he plays on the other side. Concerning this way of playing the drum, cf. H. Hoffman (*Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen n-Religion*, Wiesbaden, 1950: 202), plate 7.

15. Sylvain Levi (*Le Népal*, 1, Paris 1905, I: 317) wrote: 'Man in the presence of nature confusedly feels an infinite multitude of forces ready to move into action at the expense of his weakness; his pantheon, always open, always had room for newcomers. The priest is not a doctor of souls; he is a specialist in rites; like the god he serves, he has an area of competence in which he excels and gladly leaves the field open to his neighbours.'

16. One of the best-known specialists on Nepal, Professor Ch. von Furer Haimendorf ('Caste in the Multi-ethnic Society of Nepal' in *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, no. IV, Paris, 1960: 12-32) recently published an interesting study. See also L. Petech (*Mediaeval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958: 179-189). We need, however, detailed studies of descriptive ethnography for the entire area of Nepal; lists of the names of the subcastes of the principal groupings of the country have not yet been systematically established by researchers. I had a great deal

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of difficulty orienting myself among the *thar* in Darjeeling where the castes live one on top of the other.

17. Namchi is indicated, for example, on the map facing page 256 in Sir. R. Temple (*Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, London, 1887) and in Murray (*Handbook for travellers in India*, London, 1955) on the map facing page 316 (between Darjeeling and 'Gangtok'). Modern detailed maps of these regions are not easily found.

18. That is, at the beginning of the rainy season.

19. Turner (*Dictionary*: 130b): *Khorsāni* 'Red pepper, chili'.

20. Turner (*ibid.* : 68b): *Castanopsis hystrix*.

21. Turner (*ibid.* : 22b): *Thysanalaena agrestis*.

22. Turner (*ibid.* : 158a): *Neyraudia madagascariensis*.

23. For a recent list of kinship terms, see Meerendonk (*Basic Gurkhali Grammar*, Kuala Lumpur, 1959: 247-252).

24. Necklace made of beads of a variety of *Elaeocarpus*. This type of necklace is also used in Tantric ceremonies (G. Roerich, *Le Parler de l'Amdo*, Rome, 1958: 146): s.v. *raksa*. Each *jhākri* possesses several of these necklaces.

25. Turner (*ibid.* : 496a), G.W. Briggs (*The Chamars*, Bombay, 1920: 132-133; *The Doms*, 1960: 674, index); E.S. Oakley and Tara Dutt Gairola (*Himalayan Folklore*, Allahabad, 1935: 24); E.T. Atkinson (*The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India* 1884: 818-840) writes: 'Persons possessed without any assignable cause are for the time being said to be under his influence.' I do not have the exact page number, since I have only a typewritten copy of this chapter.

26. It is more or less a description of the traditional ceremonial clothing of the human *jhākri*. Black and white yak tails seem to be used especially by the Limbu *jhākri*. All the *jhākri* do not use them: for example, Gobind Prasad did not have any. I learned of a story concerning youths who steal from the king of the dead, Yamarāj, yak tails which enable their owner to kill or revive a human being. For further uses of *cāmara*, see my article (Macdonald *Journal Asiatique* 1968: 419-444) and Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*, London, 1886: 214-215), s.v. *Chowry*. In Nepal the inanimate symbol of Mañjuśrī was a fly-swatter made of a yak tail (see E. Burnouf *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, II, Paris, 1925: 501). Concerning the *thurmi*, Turner (*ibid.* : 299b) gives the meaning: 'a small iron spoon (?)-small cutting instrument (?)'. In this case, it is the Nepalese

equivalent of the Tibetan *phur-bu*: the Nepali instrument is made of sculptured wood. As for the form, the *thumi* often resembles the handle (*murrā*) of the *ḍhyaṅro*. The long white coat is the *jāmā*, worn, as Turner (*ibid.* : 215) correctly remarks, by 'children, wizards and bridegrooms'. This may be compared with the various white garments mentioned by Mr. R.A. Stein (*Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris, 1959: 507, n. 60), cf. p. 350 of the text.

27. He therefore did not wear the headdress consisting of peacock feathers attached to a band of cloth woven in white, blue and red and decorated with cowries which is the usual headgear of the *jhākri* at the time of a *gurupūjā*. (On this headdress see, in particular, Macdonald 1966: 52, n. 68).

28. Turner (*ibid.*: 368b): *parsāt*.

29. The word used here for sack is *jābi* (Turner *ibid.*: 214b). This is no doubt the sack worn by the human *jhākri* while he officiates. This sack, slung over the right shoulder, hangs at the left of the waist. It is often decorated with cowries, wild boar's teeth, etc.

30. The woman was Siṃhadevī; her three daughters, the *tin kanyā Siṃhadevī* (Turner *ibid.* : 73a).

31. Place where corpses are burned (Turner *ibid.*: 156b); *māsan ghāt*.

32. The altar where Siṃhadevī was worshipped. Concerning *thān*, (Turner *ibid.* : 295b).

33. Turner (*ibid.*: 'The devil, a devil, a demon.' Cf. G.W. Briggs (*The Doṃs* 1960: 500). The *saitān* do not come when they are called nicely. They come only when one calls them brutally while playing on a *rkaṅ-gliṅ*. The word, used by the Nepalis, is Tibetan: the femur in question is often from a *Teli* (Turner *ibid.*: 290a) and G.W. Briggs (*op. cit.*: 679) in his index. Tiger femurs are also used to call *saitān*, but, I have been told, they may not be played on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays. In order to obtain a *rkaṅ-gliṅ*, one goes to a cemetery at midnight, naked and with ashes covering his body. Once a fresh corpse has been recovered, the *jhākri* throws clay on it while reciting *mantra*. The corpse rises without bending its knees. It rises three times and is again 'killed' three times by the *mantra(s)*. The *jhākri* has brought along two bottles of *raksi* and a *ser* (Turner *ibid.*: 62a) of *sidur* (Turner *ibid.*:604a). When the corpse stands up for the third time and opens his eyes and mouth widely, the *jhākri* throws the *sidur* in its eyes and pours *raksi* in its mouth. Thereupon the corpse falls down again. The femur may now be cut from the corpse. The femur is kept in clay

(*maṭṭi*) for 15 days and must not be brought immediately to the jhakri's house. After the 15 days, the flesh will be detached from the bone: a hole will then be made in the femur. The *jhãkri* will then say *mantra*, play for the first time on the *rkaṅ-gliṅ*, and then bring it home where he will keep it in his *than*. One of my *jhãkri* informants used the femur from a small girl who, judging from the size of the femur, must have died before she was one year old. I have never attended such rites, but several informants told me about them. They all said that it was a much more difficult task to take a corpse's skull than its femur. Concerning the use of *rkaṅ-glin* by the Tibetans, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (*Oracles and Demons*: 398).

Concerning these rites where corposes must be raised in order to take a part of the body, I should like to point out the frequency of the *Vetālasiddhi* in Indian, Brahman and Jaina stories. If the living are active in resuscitating the dead, the dead are by no means disinterested in the living. It is particularly true in the case of the *bāyu* who accidentally died of drowning, suicide, burns, etc., and who became like the *sain:* wandering spirits that catch the living. The Newari call them *khyāk*. H.Jorgensen (*A Dictionary of the Classical Newari*, Copenhagen, 1936: 47) gives the equivalent of *khyāk* as 'a Pisaca'; Turner (*ibid.*: 131b), says: 'ghost, spirit of a dead man which haunts the house and, according to some, prevents other spirits from giving trouble'. It is correct that the *bāyu* alias *khyāk*, does not leave a family's house (where it can settle on two men simultaneously) to move in elsewhere. The *bāyu* comes onto the *jhākri*, but this does not exclude the latter's possession by other spirits.

34. Mistake or ritual blunder: she was a widow.

35. Characteristic sign of possession.

36. Turner (*ibid.*: 441b): 'A Jimdar *dhāmi*, sorcerer'. Cf. L.A. Waddell (*Among the Himalayas*, Westminister, 1900: 312); W. Brooke Northey and C.J. Morris (*The Gurkhas*, London, 1928: 226-227); E.T. Dalton (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872: 103), and H.H. Risley, (cited in *Census, 1951, West Bengal, The Tribes and Castes of West Bengal*, Alipore, 1953, p. 254). Among the Limbu, Dalton and Risley point out the Phedangma (*Census, 1951, West Bengal*, p. 223, 254). Also see. W. Brooke Northey and C.J. Morris (*op.cit.* 1928: 226-227). Does this word , written with variants in the 19th century sources, have any relation to the Nepali *baidāṅga?* Turner (*ibid.*:459b) gives the meaning of this latter word as 'the science of medicine according to the system of the *Ayurveda*'. I have often heard of the 'Phedungba' of the Limbu, but no one seemed sure of the spelling of the word. Cf. footnote 38.

37. Spirit - divinity of the jungle.

38. My informants all confirmed what G. Gorer (*Himalayan Village*, London, 1938: 216) writes: The Lepcha say Yābā for the possessed male and Yāmā when it is a woman. I am giving here the exact word used by the person with whom I spoke. I have done this elsewhere in my account where it seems useful. However, Gobind Prasad told me that the Lepcha said that Yankit was a Yāmā. Cf. G.B. Mainwaring (*Dictionary of the Lepcha Language*, Berlin, 1898: 323). Imansingh Chemjong (*Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, Kathmandu, 1961: 232) indicates s.v. *Yābā* 1) *bhutyāhā, dhāmi*, exorcist; 2) *bijuvā, jhãkri*, exorcist; s.v. Yāmā: *bijuvāni (jhãkri stri)*, female exorcist; and s.v. *phedangma: purohit*, priest (Chemjong 1961: 194). There are also interesting facts concerning the study of the Limbu in *Kirāt ko bed* by the same author (Kathmandu 1961). In *Tambā Kaiten hvāi riṃthim*, by Santabir Lama (Pākhrin) (1959), we find the Tamang as the equivalent of the *Nep. jhãkri*. This last book is very important, and I will soon come back to it. See Macdonald, 'The Tamang seen by one of themselves.'

39. The grotto of Senchal near Darjeeling is called *mandir*. It is not a *pūjā thān* but something more permanent.

40. I hope to study elsewhere the *mantra* used by the *jhãkri*. I was able to copy Gobind Prasad's *mantra* notebook, but an examination of it here would lead us too far away. I would however like to mention the botheration caused by his loaning me the notebook. At first Gobind Prasad permitted me to take the notebook from Darjeeling to Kalimpong. A few days later, he became ill. He attributed the illness to the fact that his *deutā* had been offended by his loaning me the notebook, and he asked me by letter to return the notebook immediately - which I did. Several weeks later, Gobind Prasad became sick again. I visited him and he seemed to be afflicted with a particularly severe case of jaundice. He told me that it was all his fault, that he had spoken to me too freely of things that should have remained secret and that as a result his *deutā* became angry and punished him. Although I maintained friendly relations with him after this time, he no longer wanted to give me any other valuable information.

41. I knew this younger brother who entirely confirmed what Gobind Prasad had said. At the time I knew him, he was becoming initiated in the art of the *jhãkri*. He seemed very emotional; the very mention of the name of the *deutā* (which we will see farther on) physically upset him to the point where he became pale and trembled and refused any further discussion of the pantheon of the spirits. I was unable to learn who his master was.

42. The details of the *jhãkri's* initiative experience vary greatly. Gobind Prasad's experience seems exceptional to me because of the detail with which he remembers it. The *jhãkri* is an exceptional being in the society: it would not be unwarranted to say that because of this, each *jhãkri's* experience is exceptional. I intend to reproduce other spiritual biographies in other works. If I have chosen to relate Gobind Prasad's here, it is because it seems to be a good opening to the study of these phenomena.

43. Possession by spirits has been attested all over the south of the Himālayas, especially when it is a question of Tibetanized populations. See, for example, S. Ribbach (*Drogpa Namgyal*, Munich 1940: 49); but the *lha-pa* are also sect. G. Atkinson (*Gazetteer of the N.W.F. Provinces*, 1884: Chap. 9). (I do not have the page reference) writes: Ganganath sometimes possesses a follower and through him promises all that they desire to those who offer the following articles...altogether forming a fair spoil for the Ghantuwa or Astrologer who conducts the ceremonies ... The person who acts the part of one possessed by any Bhut is called 'Dungar-iya'. Again in the *Gazetteer of Kangra District*, Chap. III, *The People*. B: *Social and Religious Life*, we find: 'The *devta* is also invoked by way of oracle during his appearance at fairs and *jagrās*. The mouthpiece of the god is his *gur* or *chela* who on such occasions, stripped half naked, lashes himself with iron chains and gasps out answers to the questions asked by the pious worshippers around, sometimes interrupting the responses to burst out into a passionate homily on the wickedness of the people, with an exhortation to them in the name of the *devta* to mend their ways.' Concerning the district of Dehra Dun, see R.N. Saksena (*Social Economy of a Polyandrous People*, Agra, 1955: p. iii). Concerning Sikkim, see particularly, G. Gorer (*Himalayan Village*, 1938: 215 and following, and for Tibetan facts, see de Nebesky-Wojkowitz *Oracles and Demons*: Chaps. 21 and 27). As for Bhutan, I lack first-hand information. When I asked the Nepalis if the Tibetans had *jhãkris*, they sometimes answered: 'Yes, they have *čhos-rje*.' Now, in Sikkim *dpa'-bo* would be the equivalent of *čhos-rje* or *čhos-skyoṅ* (Lamaic medium) of central Tibet. The terminology applied to the various types of possessed people must be re-examined closely: I personally have difficulty understanding what distinguishes the *jhãkri* from the *dhāmi* (Turner *ibid.*: 337). Perhaps we could base the distinction on the quality of the trance, the 'true' *jhãkri* being the one who, at the beginning, was possessed in spite of himself. It would, however, be impossible to recreate an historical account of each case. In any event, the *dhāmi*, as well as the *jhãkri*, practices various types of *jokhanā* (Turner *ibid.*: 223-224). The Nepali *jādugar* as a group have not as yet been studied.

44. Mr. Tucci (The sea and land travels of a Buddhist *sādhu* in the sixteenth century, in *IHQ*, Vol. VII, no. 4, 1932: 684), speaking of a Buddhist *sādhu*, writes a sentence that would well apply to our *jhãkri:* 'These Indian and Tibetan saints lived in a king of mystical atmosphere which gives a peculiar colour to all their experiences; the truth for them is not about external facts but rather about the meaning they have for them or the ideal significance that they attach to them.'

45. The porcupine quills (Turner *ibid.*: 83a) know many uses. For instance, when the *jhãkri* have contests opposing their magical powers, these quills, reduced to powder after having been burned in the fire, are thrown from one individual to another, accompanied by *mantra*.

46. Brass or copper water pot.

47. In general, the *jhãkri* begins around eight at night. Ceremonies undertaken during the day often lead nowhere. However, certain *jhãkri* maintain that to undertake (and successfully complete) a cure at any given hour of the day is a proof of strength.

48. If this story is not a result of a Tibetan influence, it at least indicates a desire to copy Tibetan traditions. It reminds us of S.C. Das (Dispute between a Buddhist and a Bon-po priest for the possession of Mt. Kailas and the lake of Manasa, in *JAS Bengal*, Vol. 1, 1881: 206-211); cf. Hoffman (*Quellen* ... 230-32; *Mi la Raspa*, Munich, 73-74). According to the Bon-po, their representative came out the winner of the test (G. Tucci, *Santi e briganti del Tibet ignoto*, Milan, 1937). Pignede had gathered analagous legends among the Gurung. Some Tamangs assured me that the first *jhãkri* was Narubon and not Mahādeo. One often hears of this type of religious competition between, for example, *deutā* who are Viṣṇubhakti and others who are Śivabhakti, and also between Lama and Brahman.

49. I have never heard an explanation of this name, but Turner (*ibid.*: 608), gives: 'adj. of or belonging to the marshes - s°-*bhume deutā* (*jhãkri's* language), gods of water and dry land.'

50. Turner (*ibid.*: 315), s.v. *dubo*.

51. The hunting dog is a well-known personage in the tradition of many highlanders, particularly in Indochina. The name given here to this 'hunter' is somewhat surprising. *Sirih* in Nepalese means 'the temples of the head' (Turner *ibid.*: 609a). It is possible that there has been some confusion with a legend according to which the first *jhãkri* came from the hair growing on Mahādeo's temples.

52. They also speak of Ṭokri Sikāri. He is dressed in white and has long black hair. He carries a bow and arrows and on his back a covered basket *(tokri)*. In this basket there is ginger *(aduwā)* and *kodo* (Turner *ibid.:* 107a). The description of the processions of spirits are always oral, and I have never seen figurines or drawings representing them. In the descriptions, immediately following this *sikāri* comes the couple known as Nayadeuta. Some say that this couple comes from sunbeams. In her belt and to the left the *rani* wears a sickle. Her clothing is white, her hair very black. She wears a necklace made of pieces of coral and coins of four *annas*. Her earrings and nose ornament are made of gold. On each wrist she wears a bracelet made of a single circle of silver to which is attached a silver coin. On her back, she has a basket and a *chapani* (Turner *ibid.:* 191b) filter. She has everything she needs in her basket. She always has with her a comb, *kaṅiyo* (Turner *ibid:* 533a) and a hairbrush, (Turner *ibid:* 295b). The *rāja* wears white Nepali clothes; he has nothing in his hands. This couple helps the other *deutā* in their work. They cause tooth, eye and ear troubles, shaking and attacks of paralysis. Of course, if they are properly worshipped, they do not inflict these misfortunes. They are often said to be Limbu *deutā*. The order of the procession is Ṭokri Sikāri, the Nayādeutā couple, then the 16 *sikāri*.

53. This is the full moon of Bhadau or Sāwan. See Turner (1931), s.v. *rikhi-ḍoro*.

54. Every Nepali has a tendency to ennoble his caste ties; but it is also said that at the time of the first *celo*, men had no idea of castes and knew no sickness.

55. It seemed impossible for me to obtain precise information on the number of *jhākri* in the area. I knew about ten *jhākri* well. The *jhākri* is not highly regarded by the police authorities, no doubt because of certain rites of necromancy which he practices. He does not willingly open up to the Western foreigner, who himself is the object of local police suspicion. But it seems that the number of *jhākri* around Kalimpong has decreased since Independence. I do not know if this decline is attributable to the recent influx of a new Tibetan population, or to the cessation of commerce with Tibet and the subsequent disorganization of social life that has caused many small and large-scale Indian merchants to leave for the plains, or finally if this decline can be attributed to the departure of a certain number of Nepalis who, unlike their fathers and grand-fathers, foresee a brighter future in Nepal itself. Probably all these factors must be taken into consideration along with still more. The Indian administrators with whom I have had the occasion to talk about the *jhākri* feel that the *jhākri* activities are destined to disappear soon because they are incompatible with the progress of a state given

to socialism. These administrators implicitly consider the *jhãkri* as magicians. The Nepali merchants on the other hand have mixed feelings with regard to the *jhãkri*. More than one, after pretending to be shocked by my interest in this aspect of his culture, finally admitted that, when his child was sick, he successfully solicited the services of a *jhãkri*. I have often noticed a benevolent understanding for the *jhãkri* among the Nepali pandits who rarely expressed an open hostility. If they did criticize them, it was rather on the social level. I have never observed any politization among the *jhãkri:* their activity is never directly opposed to what one might call Hindu colonization. Many Christian missionaries are of course present in the region. But a conversion to Christianity does not necessarily imply a renunciation of the belief in the effectiveness of the *jhãkri*. Communists also consult *jhãkri*.

56. Girls are subject to being carried off by Athanne-Nayādeutā or by the *ban ko burheni* that we shall see further on. The girls adore these *burheni* as *deutā*. After the kidnapping and return home, a girl is trained by a male *guru* who is himself a *jhãkri*. There were some *bijwāmi* around Kalimpong, one particularly at the 13th mile along the road to Pedong; but I did not know any well. It should be noted that, according to Turner (1931), a *jhãkrini* means 'wife of a *jhãkri*' and not a female *jhãkri*. This definition seems inaccurate to me.

57. *Rittai* 'empty-handed', *Laṭo,* 'stupid, simple,' *sun* 'golden'. *Sun* also means 'the number zero' in Nepali, but this meaning is not appropriate to the context. *Laṭhe:* (Turner 1931, 'a stalwart fellow'). *Bhairab,* 'formidable'. Bhairab is also an epithet and a form of Śiva. *Bālakha* means 'young child'. Since this *ban jhãkri* is the youngest of the brothers, the possible spelling *balla* should not be excluded. My informants in general proved to be quite vague concerning the exact spelling of the spirits' names.

I gathered other accounts concerning the first master and his pupil. Here are two of them. 1) Mahādeo was alone on the Kailasparbat. Satyadevi, his first wife, had committed suicide by fire, and Pārvati was not living with the god. Mahādeo decided that he could no longer personally take care of all the inhabitants of the world. He therefore pulled three hairs from the right side of his head and from these three hairs, he created seven *jhãkri*. At the same time, he pulled three hairs from the left side of his head and from these three hairs he created the three goddesses Bhadrakāli, Mahakāli and Candikālī. These three goddesses help men who are tormented by sorcerers. Having created the *jhãkri,* Mahadeo taught them *mantra-tantra* and the various *jhãkri* techniques. Then he sent them into the world. He did not send them to

precise places, but scattered them about in the East, South, West and North, on the banks of rivers, on high mountains, in dense forests, everywhere that life was dangerous. The three goddesses, on the other hand, were sent to the plains and Mahādeo gave them only rudrācchamāla. 2) Ban - , Laṭhe - , Sun - , Sailuṅ - , Rittai - jhãkri were born simultaneously at Raktakosi on the Sailuṅdhara. The parents of these five brothers were Raktabijuwā and Raktabijwāmi, who died the moment their children were born. The children, protected by Kalabhairun, managed to survive by drinking the milk of the river Dudhpokhri. Mahādeo created them because he could no longer take care of all the men he had formerly created; he projected his *ātman* in them and they automatically became *jhãkri*. Kalabhairun helped them make their *ḍhyāṅro*. In the jungle, they found the *jhãkrikāth*, the *riṭṭho*, the *rudrācche* and what they needed for their instruments. Once they had made their *mālā* they called Śivaji and obtained his power. Then they separated. Rittai-jhãkri stayed in Sailuṅdhara; Sun-jhãkri went to an area where there are gold mines; Ban-jhãkri, the eldest of the five, left for the jungle. From that time on, when men were sick or in difficulty, the *jhãkri* came to their aid.

58. These are not the only necklaces Gobind Prasad uses. There is also the *deuniṅale* made of bamboo (Turner 1931: 344: *niṅalo = Arundinaria inter-media)*. This is a small necklace painted red. When he is in conflict with other *jhãkri* Gobind Prasad wears it to protect himself from his adversary's *deutā*. He also has an iron necklace called *kalsāṅlo* (*?kal* = quarrel + *sāṅlo* = 'small chain'). When a client is troubled by attacks from a *boksi*, Gobind Prasad wears the *kalsāṅlo* around his neck, then takes it off and puts it around the neck of his client. The latter then begins to talk and state his identity. Finally, there is the *mālā* which protects the lamp (*diyo*) next to which is placed a wild boar's tooth during certain *pūjā*. This necklace is made of 108 pieces of *candan*, sandalwood.

59. *Bhure* means 'young person' and *burhi* means 'old (person)'. There is some uncertainty concerning the spelling of this word: it is because there is not always agreement as to these ladies' ages.

60. *Laṭṭe* means 'tangled hair'. Cf. *T'oung Pao*, XLVIII, 4-5, 1960, p. 458-459.

61. *Seti* means 'white'.

62. Cf. Chamung Sikāri.

63. *Khut* means 'traces'; *khuṭṭa khuṭṭai* 'by foot'.

64. *Thāṁne* means 'dressed in rags, dirty'; this is an adjective often applied by Nepalese to Tibetans.

65. *Phurluṅ* means 'a small basket', and *bagālinu,* 'to group together'. It must be a type of horn of plenty, a basket from which one takes everything he needs.

66. Turner (*ibid.* : 7b): 'Fixed, permanent; epithet of God'.

67. Turner (*ibid.* : 622a) indicates: 'a particular kind of demon'. He wonders if this is a borrowed word of Tibetan origin, *sog-po* in Tibetan meaning 'mongol'; but the comparison does not appear imperative. A derivation of the Nepali *sok,* Newāri *sok* and *sog* meaning 'sadness' is not to be ignored. The folkloric themes grouped around *sok-pa* are almost the same as those that surround the 'yeti'. Gobind Prasad carried a *sok-pa's* finger bone to protect himself against *boksi.*

68. Certain *jhãkri* sacrifice cocks, others never kill. This difference is not a function of caste. I have often felt it would be possible to establish a distinction between 'black' *jhãkri* and 'white' *jhãkri,* but such a distinction would be a construction of the Western mind and would not correspond with native thought.

69. I will then provide information concerning the pharmacoepia of the *jhãkri.*

70. Concerning Observatory Hill, see (Murray, *Handbook...,* 1955: 314). This spot is today invaded by tourists, whereas the site at Senchal, more remote, outside the town, is a more frequent site of *pūjāri.*

71. One says *gupha pasnu.* This phrase, applied to men, means, according to Turner (1931), 'to live apart as before marriage of after death'.

72. That is, the full moon of the *janaī.* *Janaī* is the sacred thread worn by the three upper castes. This is the same time as the *Rikhi-tarpani* mentioned above. See my article (Macdonald, Notes népalaises: le *janaipurnimā* et la Gosaīkund, in *Langues et Techniques, Nature et Societé, 2,* 1972: 73-80).

73. There is a curious note in Moorcroft (Moorcroft and Trebeck *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab,* London, Vol. 1, 1841: 165): 'The mountain of Gogar is famous for a fierce conflict which is said to take place on it annually, beginning on the 20th of Bhadon (August-September) between the Deotas or wizards and Dains or witches who assembled from far and near, even from Bengal and the Dekhin.' This should be considered in the light of what I said above

concerning the relationship between the *jhākri* and *ojhā*.

74. Maṅsir is our December-January. The monthly *pūjā* costs approximately 8 rupees. The expenses for the *gurupūjā* are considerably higher, since the *thān* constructed on this occasion is often costly, due to its size and the amount of food and offerings it entails. When it is done properly, it costs approximately 30 rupees. Naturally the figure varies. The people concerned contribute according to their means, and by pooling their resources manage to meet the expenses. I do not think that the *jhākri* activity is of much importance in the economy of these populations. The *jhākri*, it seems to me, is not very demanding insofar as payment of his services is concerned: with regard to this question, my information is different from that of my predecessors who considered the *jhākri* as a rapacious person.

75. The 'lives' of the deities illustrate, in a striking manner, this basic fact. Athanne-Nayādeutā seems very poorly considered by those other than the Rai or Limbu. But it is difficult to specify the couple known by the name Nayādeutā. Here is a biography. Kṛṣṇa was bathing one day in the upper part of the river Brahmaputra. From the dirt of his body the couple Baji-Bajai was formed. This couple remained in the river bed for 84 years, worshipping Kṛṣṇa Bhagāwan. Then the god told them to go out into the world; wherever they would go, they would be worshipped. They therefore went to Tibet where they stayed for 50 years; they are known there by the names Narubon and Chaurubon. Sometimes they were seen as spirits, sometimes as men. Then they went to Nindrawadiban in the Mahācina. There they ate only roots. The king of the forest, who was hunting, captured them. They had taken on the appearance of a boy and girl; the king arrested them because they were strangers, and he kept them in prison for 12 years. One year after their arrest, the people of this land began to die after illnesses that lasted eight or nine days. The 64 types of disease spread throughout the land, but no one could recognize them. This state of affairs lasted eleven years; then one day the king understood in a dream that he had been wrong in arresting the couple, and that his countrymen must pay homage to the couple. He therefore released them and asked them what they wanted. They answered: 'We want to be masters *(adhipati)* of the forests in the North of Nepal', and they asked the king to give each one of them a sickle, a basket and a sack. They then went to the land of Kirat, where the Yakhā then lived. There they took two fish: they had taken on the appearance of an old man and woman of about sixty years of age. The inhabitants of the land did not allow them to eat the fish. That evening, the river overflowed. The leader of the land, who was called Chaitahan, was 'possessed' by the couple. He began to say, 'You did not allow us to eat

the fish for you did not know us. We are the *deutā* of the forest.' At midnight, Chaitahan made them offerings (five pair of fish) and asked their pardon. The same night, the level of the river fell. The couple, in the form of a 12-year-old boy and girl, said: 'In the future you must give us offerings of fish and edible roots (*kandamūl*, Turner 1931: 726) twice a year in the months of Baisākh and Maṅsir,' The couple then went to Nepal (most probably to the villages of Kathmandu Valley). The inhabitants of this land, the Newari, were cloth-weavers, and the couple asked for work, but being strangers, they got none. Once more there was flooding; the causes were discovered, and the Newari (they are sometimes called *Kusuṇḍo*, Turner 1931, q.v.) decided to give them a bi-annual *pūjā* in Baisakh and Maṅsir. From there, the couple went to the land of the Limbu, where they assumed the form of a buffalo. The Limbu, uncultivated jungle people, did not understand that they were dealing with *deutā;* they killed the buffalo and ate it, with the exception of the lungs, heart and liver, that they hung from a tree.. When the Limbu ate the meat, they became crazy. Namrun, leader of the Limbu, was possessed by the couple. He said: 'They killed us for nothing, without understanding who we are. Our life is in our lungs, heart and liver, that they have not yet eaten. Take them away, and when they begin to move, dig a hole at the place you're standing.' They dug at the spot indicated and found a box full of silver ornaments. When they saw these ornaments, the countrymen understood that they were dealing with *deutā* and not buffalo. Henceforth, they worshipped them twice a year. Other people settling in the land afterwards followed the Limbus' example and also worshipped them. Next stop: Benares, where a girl called Nāgesori, possessed by the couple, explained to the Bihāri the necessity of worshipping them. The Bihāri complied by making offerings of fruit, candy, etc. Then the couple left towards the East, in the region of Manipur (Assam). It is in the East that they were worshipped in the name of Purbiyā Athanne and given offerings of 8 *annas*. In Mades, where the couple went next, they were worshipped with offerings of poultry. In Darjeeling, *pūjā* are made to the couple under the name of Nayādeutā: a cock is offered. The Moslems in Darjeeling, to be on the safe side, also pay homage to these *deutā*.

76. Cf. for instance the passage of Tāranātha concerning Kāṇha to which Mr. Snellgrove (*The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study*, Oxford, 1959: 9) has recently drawn our attention.

77. P. Pelliot (*T'oung Pao* 1912: 351-430). For a comparison of Taoist and Tantric sexual techniques, see R.H. Van Gulik (*Sexual Life in Ancient China*, Leiden, 1961: 339-359).

THE WRITING OF BUDDHIST HISTORY IN THE SHERPA AREA OF NEPAL

How does one, how should one write the history of Buddhism of a particular area, at a given moment in time? These questions seem relevant in a symposium devoted to a cross-cultural study of the History of Buddhism. So, I hope you will pardon me if I talk to you of my own experience when promoting the composition of a History of Buddhism in the Sherpa area of Nepal between 1969 and 1971 A.D. As you doubtless know, the geographical area in question lies at the foot of Mount Everest and covers some pretty rugged terrains. The present population is around 30,000, half of whom are non-Sherpa groups such as Magar, Rai, Tamang, Chetri, Kami, Newar, etc.... The Sherpa population is, apparently, composed of four main elements:

1. Descendants of four clans that crossed the border southwards from Tibet across the Snang-pa la around 1533 A.D., but whose original ancestors came from Khams, some 1300 miles away to the East.

2. Descendants of sub clans that split off, in the course of time, from the four initial clans.

3. Descendants of individuals from Nepalese caste-groups who moved in from the West from around 1850 A.D. onwards, married into Sherpa families and settled principally in Pharak, which lies between Khumbu and Solu.

4. About 1200 so-called Khambas who came over the border from the North during the past four or five generations: these include many elements from Ding-ri, some from Mustang and Manang and very few from Khams itself. Until twenty years ago, the local Sherpa educational system was entirely monastic and no statistics concerning literacy in Tibetan are available.

In 1971, a Sherpa lama, Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin, and I published a volume that came out in Europe under the French title Documents pour l'étude de la religion et de l'organisation sociale des Sherpa,[1] This volume contained the photographic reproduction of three Tibetan manuscripts that we had composed conjointly. These are:

1. a rnam-thar, that is an "autobiography", of Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin.

2. a chos-'byung, that is to say a "history of Buddhism", with particular reference to the Sherpa area.

3. a mes-rabs, a title which, for practical-purposes, I shall translate as "the succession of the ancestors".[2] Before we compiled this volume, there existed no History of Sherpa Buddhism in the Tibetan language, a dialect of which is the lingua-franca of Solu-Khumbu. In his book The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, published in London in 1964,[3] Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf had used practically no written Sherpa documents and seemingly had discovered little legendary material. However, the first volume to come from the German Khumbu Himal project marked a great step forward in knowledge, for it brought to light important new written materials. Five documents in Nepali concerning Sherpa relations with the Nepalese Govt. between 1791 and 1853 A.D. along with fourteen Sherpa documents in Tibetan were translated into German and analysed in Michael Oppitz's Geschichte und Sozialordnung der Sherpa, which was published in Munich in 1968.[4] Unfortunately, this book contained none of the original Tibetan texts, not even in transliteration; so the originals could not be examined by Tibetologists or Tibetans. Moreover, as the book was written in German, its contents remained a dead letter to practically every Sherpa when Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin and I started to work together in August, 1969.

Although the 100 bound copies of our work published at Nanterre in 1971 do contain a very short preface in French about how the volume was written, the 200 un-bound copies sent to Sherpa country do not contain any such account. So I shall tell you something of our motives, something about how we collected our sources, what these were, and how we used them. In conclusion, I shall make a few remarks about the difficulties one has to face in this kind of history-writing, and the kind of problems of communication it raises.

First, a word about our motives and what might be called our qualifications. Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin is today 51, a year younger than I. He was born in Solu at Brag-mtho sbug in 1924, was educated locally and then went to Tibet. He spent eight years in Khams, in particular at Rdzogs-chen and Zhe-chen monasteries[5] where he studied deeply under various Rnying-ma pa masters. At the age of 33 he returned to Solu and founded what was to become the present Bshad-sgrub zung-'brel gling monastery at Ser-log, near Junbesi. I think one might describe him as a very learned scholar in the tradition of Mi-pham and Padma rnam-rgyal. He knows Nepali from birth but knows no English and refuses to learn it, maintaining that if one knows English one wastes much time reading things that have nothing to do with religion. He has had problems all his life because of his modest social origin, his consequent lack of riches and the fact that he is not a reincarnation (sprul sku). He tends to be treated as a village lama, a country cousin if not a bumpkin, by the great men from Lhasa. Being both interested by, and involved in, the spread of Buddhism among the Sherpas, to compose or even to copy a work of Buddhist history was meritorious in his eyes. So he had little hesitation when I suggested we work together.

For my own part, I had gone to Nepal in 1969 somewhat dissatisfied both with my previous experience as an anthropologist (where the role of outside observer seemingly transformed the researcher into some sort of "voyeur" troubled by methodological obsessions to be shared with a few colleagues in distant parts of the globe)[6] and as a philologist (to edit a Tibetan text and to translate it correctly into a European language seemed an activity that had little bearing on the lives of today's Tibetans).[7] What I wanted to do in 1969 was to use my training to write a book not so much about Tibetans as for them. Instead of taking something from their culture, in order to build myself an academic reputation--whether good or bad--elsewhere, I wanted to contribute something to their culture with the tools of my trade. Perhaps naïvely, I wanted to try to establish a communication link, not so much between one western research worker and his chosen field, as between reputable aspects of my own culture (the study of History and the study of Anthropology, for example) and similar features in Tibetan culture (the study of Religion and the study of History).

However this may be, when we set to work to collect documents for writing on the Sherpa area, we started more or less from scratch. Hunting out local documents occupied most of my own time, but I was helped considerably by a Sherpa pupil of Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin. Much cunning was necessary. Generally, because of jealousy between lamas or suspicion of my motives, it was unwise to try to explain what we were doing and we were careful never to say publicly that we were working together. Sherpas are used to climbers, to doctors, to trekkers and to hippies, and are quick to divide westerners by reference to known categories: I soon became known locally as the "lama saheb". Sometimes, I copied documents in romanization, sometimes I was lent them and could show them (unbeknown to their owner) to Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin who, during this period, never moved out of the dgon-pa. I did not buy outright any documents.

What were the documents collected? Apart from the printed biographies of the Rdza rong phu and Khumbu lamas, which are easy to come by[8], we collected mi-rabs (family genealogies) and mes-rabs (clan or sub-clan genealogies); lung-yig (short and very difficult texts describing particular areas and concerned primarily with points of litigation over land-ownership, and irrigation and grazing rights); dkar chag(s) of monasteries (besides information about books, these sometimes include a colophon that gives details of foundation and repair dates, as well as information about individual lamas). Further information was obtained from slong-yig; these "letters of request" often provide a very interesting list of subscribers to monastery works. We also consulted numerous thob-yig; these contain lists of disciplines, precepts, and consecrations obtained by an individual, and state from whom exactly these were taken. Another source were gnas-yig "descriptions of places": for instance I was able to copy two gnas-yig of Mkhan-pa lung, a somewhat mysterious sbas-yul, a

"hidden country" to the south-east of Everest,[9] and collect references to Rol-ba gling, a very real Sherpa valley which lies to the west of Thang-smad.[10] I also obtained a romanized copy of the Rus-yig, "the book of bones" of which much use had been made by the German team. Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin had never seen the manuscript of the Rus-yig and was delighted when I read it back to him from my notebook: up till that moment he had never really believed in the virtues of the Western system of transliterating Tibetan. We also consulted a certain number of external Tibetan texts, general histories of Buddhism, biographies of Rnying-ma pa lamas and figures of the church such as Thang-stong rgyal-po. All this, as you can imagine, formed a jumble of material of differing values, which had to be read critically and reduced to a literary form.

Among the literary forms of expression open to us, we opted without much discussion for the genres of chos-'byung and mes-rabs; but it was only most reluctantly that Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin consented to write his own rnam-thar. He said he was too young, had done too little and that anyway everyone knew him locally. It seemed to me necessary, however, that foreign readers should know something of his life, his travels, his training in Tibet, so as to be in a better position to evaluate his work.

The chos-'byung, which covers folios 15 to 123 of the volume, was itself divided into three sections. The first section (fol. 18-47) is based on oral tradition (lo-rgyus khar brgyud) and this is clearly emphasized in the text on fol. 18. This seemed the only honest way of presenting the material in view of the almost complete lack of events that can be dated with certainty locally prior to 1900 A.D. Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin had the same difficulty I had separating out "stories" and "histories" and never suggested that the legends we collected about the founding lamas formed some superior form of truth. He felt, as I did, that these legends do account in a very credible manner for the state of affairs that existed prior to 1924. The legends concerning the successors of Gsang-ba rdo-rje, the first great Buddhist figure in Khumbu, and in particular the protracted struggle between the lama Ser-pa and the lama Dgon-pa, show clearly that it was by displays of magical powers that the Rnying-ma-pa lamas established and confirmed their authority over the minds of the local people. These stories recall the contest between Mi-la ras-pa and the Bon-po on Mount Kailash as well as the magical disputes between rival jhākris in present-day Nepal.[11] They are very much the kind of tales, full of earthy humour and rapid changes of style and pace, that Sherpas love to tell when explaining the "traces" - (phyag-rjes) on some natural rock formation--of the passage of Padmasambhava. Exactly as in the proto-exploits of Padmasambhava, the Sherpa founding lamas vanquished the local spirits and transformed their dwellings into strongholds of the Buddhist order. The very countryside became Buddhist, its geography re-named when sanctified by their victories.

The second section (fol. 47-97) of the chos-'byung is based on the thob-yig. The section begins by recalling the origins of the Rnying-ma-pa, the only sect that has taken real root in Sherpa country. For the general history of the Rnying-ma-pa, one can of course consult innumerable volumes in Tibetan, but two of the most useful recent publications which we had at hand were Bdud 'jom rin-po-che's accounts of the history and doctrine of the Rnying-ma-pas, printed at Kalimpong in 1967 A.D.[12] Simple lists of transmissions of religious teachings constitute by themselves fairly arduous reading for a Tibetan as for a Westerner, so to enliven this section we introduced biographical details on lamas whenever we were sure of them. The second section ends with a few pages (fol. 89-97), included at my request, concerning Sherpa religious customs, that is to say the ceremonies enacted at birth, marriage and death, and in cases of sickness; and we included a few lines on annual and periodical festivals. Western readers have since told me that they found these pages too short, they wanted more details. Sherpa have told me that they were of no interest, as they dealt with things that are common place. My own view is that ethnography, that is to say, the context in which we were writing, was already pretty well-known to the West through the works of Haimendorf, Oppitz, Funke, Schmidt-Thomé and T.T. Thingo,[13] and that there was little reason for us to write at greater length on these topics.[14]

The third section of the chos-'byung (fol. 97-123) is based on Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin's experience in his own lifetime. It gives an account of the foundation of several monasteries from 1936 onwards. In each case we gave information about dates of foundations, details concerning the founding lamas, the patrons (sbyin-bdag), the lamas who consecrated the buildings, some notes on the bronze and wooden statues, the stupas (mchod-rten), and the contents of the library. It is useful to everyone from East or West to know where there is, or at east was, a Rin-chen gter-mdzod or a Rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum. For the situation bookwise has changed very considerably since David Snellgrove first visited the area and described the rituals at Spyi-dbang dgon-pa;[15] there are in fact few books left today in many Sherpa dgon-pas. Most have very regrettably been moved to Western libraries.

I shall pause here to describe an example of how critical we were about our materials. I have already spoken of the Rus yig, parts of which my friend Michael Oppitz thinks are 400 years old. I beg to doubt this. My copy, made from the manuscript which Ngag-dbang tshe-brtan holds in his hands in the photo on page 35 of Oppitz's book, includes the sentence which states that the manuscript was written by a certain Karma Gzung. Both Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin and I were fascinated by the entire manuscript and spent hours discussing it. We did not find confirmation of the role in the Sherpa past which the manuscript attributes to Thang-stong rgyal-po; and Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin knew that Karma Gzung was a sarcastic, practical joker who lived 30 or so years ago in Solu. So the manuscript called Rus-yig may in fact be a splendid modern example of a gter-ma, a hidden treasure

destined to be discovered by future generations and interpreted according to their wont. However this may be, we mentioned this manuscript and its contents in our book (fol. 25), while pointing out that it does not tally with other Sherpa document that describe the same sequence of events.

The last part of the Documents, I, that is to say the mes-rabs, starts with a classic Buddhist description of the formation of the universe. It begins by a cosmogony; it explains how the universe took shape, the origin of different forms of life, of men, of the stars. It goes on to describe what certain anthropologists would call the passage from Nature to Culture. It tells of the first king, then moves on to the origin of the Tibetans (fol. 141-148) and of the Khams-pas (fol. 149-155). It tells of the emigration from Khams of those who were to become the Sherpas, migration provoked, it is said, by the incessant military campaigns, in the lands of Hor and Sog, of Gesar of Gling. The text describes the arrival in Khumbu, which was then an empty land, lung stong mi med-pa. An explanation of various etymologies of the word "Sher-pa" is followed by details of the founding members of the Sherpa clans and their descendants: Thim-mi, Ser-pa, Lcag-pa, Mi-nyag-pa. Details also are given of the sub-clans, which are called in Sherpa speech rus-chung or rus-lag, and which split off from the four main clans, and go by the names of Za-la-sga, Khams-pa-can, Sgo-bar-ma, etc... The final part of the mes-rabs describes the origin and development of Sherpa material culture; the birds and the beasts met with, the introduction of houses, furniture and clothing; eating habits and sleeping habits, agriculture, stock-raising and the Sherpa move towards the South, which was eventually blocked by Nepalese military domination.

I should add that the work we did together included the making of a large map that indicates all the religious foundations mentioned in the text. Unfortunately this map--a rather grand name for a cross between a sketch and a plan--could not be published along with the Tibetan texts. I hope to publish it along with the annotated French translation of the entire first volume, which I am at present preparing. When this second volume appears, it will certainly be easier for Westerners to take a more balanced over-all view of our work.

Some time after the publication of the first volume of the Documents, my Norwegian colleague, Per Kvaerne, drew my attention to an article in which Wilfred Cantwell Smith had written that "it is the business of comparative religion to construct statements about religion that are intelligible within at least two traditions simultaneously".[16] It was indeed a statement of this type that Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin and I, who were, at the time, both ignorant of Smith's article, had tried to make. Whatever our failings and shortcomings, I think that we at least succeeded in being instructive within two traditions simultaneously. Sherpa readers, who will not be troubled by the form in which our texts are written, will. I think, recognise

themselves in Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin's prose and learn a lot of things about themselves and their past that they did not know. They may dispute what is written about the relative roles of certain lamas; they may point out gaps and underline mistakes; and they will undoubtedly say that the text gives too optimistic a picture of the present state of Buddhism in the Sherpa area, where men today, and women too, are more preoccupied with material than spiritual problems. The Western reader, on the other hand, will be troubled by the form in which we chose to express ourselves; and to be intelligible to Westerners, I shall have to add many explanatory notes--on book titles, on names and sites of monasteries, on Buddhist technical terms--which Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin could dispense with when addressing a Tibetan-educated, Buddhist public. Yet, however badly I succeed in my translation, the Westerner who already knows something of Lamaism and Sherpa culture may still learn something from it about the Rnying-ma-pa movement in Solu-Khumbu. For, by and large, apart from G. Tucci's admirable pages on doctrine in the German "Religions of Humanity" volume concerned with Tibet and Mongolia[17], the only coherent account in a European language of the intellectual evolution of the Rnying-ma-pa movements is, to my knowledge, that gter-ston chen-po Gene Smith's English preface to The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang Dpal-bzang, late Abbot of Kah-thog monastery, published at Gangtok, Sikkim, in 1969. And I doubt whether that book is in many Western libraries or book-stores.

I also believe that our contribution was positive for Westerners inasmuch as we provided more solid background material than existed previously for cultural comparisons with other southern pockets of Tibetan culture such as Dolpo, Mustang, etc. Up to a point, we seem also to have gotten over the hurdle of satisfying "all the most rigorous demands of scholarship", which was another obstacle set in the path of the historian of religions by Cantwell Smith in the article already quoted.[18] No complaints have as yet been received from pupils at Ser-log dgon-pa, where the book is used for teaching purposes; and our texts have also been used for the teaching of Tibetan at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations orientales in Paris, a development that I certainly never foresaw when I was in the field.

Certain criticisms have naturally been voiced by readers from both cultures. "Why"--said the Steng-po-che lama--'waste your time writing about these dolts of Sherpas? There are only very few of them and they have never made any important contribution to Buddhist thought. You were in position to write on Tibet itself, which is a big country with a great Buddhist tradition and you would have been better employed studying that." From western University teachers, I have heard complaints that the book should have contained my autobiography also, and that it reveals little of the contents of Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin's personal library.

It is very difficult to satisfy the intellectual elites of one culture, let alone two as different as those to be found in France and in Sherpa-land. The communication gap between the two is truly enormous and there is, in more than a literal sense, no common language. For instance, I spent a considerable time trying to explain R.A. Stein's views on Gesar, the hero of the Tibetan epic, to Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin.[19] The latter was genuinely astonished that anyone could question the historical reality of Gesar: "But I have seen his statue," he said, "and there are all those manuscripts which you yourself collect, and all the stories sung about Gesar. Whatever your Mr. Stein says, here we all believe that Gesar lived. Could you provide me, in your sense, with the proof that Padmasambhava really lived? And, if not, would this mean that the Snga-'gyur rnying-ma movement was founded on legend"?

Here I feel we should not dodge the difficulty of determining to to what extent concepts of history are founded in faith as well as reason. Michael Oppitz may be right that "the concept a society has of history in general determines its own history" and that "the historian is rarely more than the official spokesman of that particular concept."[20] But is it possible to define the Sherpa "concept of history", either in Sherpa terms or by external terms of reference? As an outsider, I would suggest that the past is present for the Sherpa common man in ritual, in the memories of the lamas and their learning, in certain features of the landscape, in a few important man-made buildings (the monasteries and a few great houses); but above all it is present in what is said, what is recounted, from generation to generation, about these activities, places, people and their doings. Looking back, it seems to me no accident that the kind of history we compiled was largely anecdotal and essentially Buddhist. Today, this seems to me not so much the kind of history we should have written, as the only kind that could be written in the context. For instance, it would, I think, be very difficult, if not impossible, to write, say, Sherpa social history from the standpoint of a family or a village. In this respect, one should not let oneself be led astray by the example on the mi-rabs and the mes-rabs. To us, these manuscripts can furnish indications about the past provided we count the number of generations detailed therein and combine the result with present-day demographic statistics, as Oppitz did, very intelligently, in his book. But in Sherpa society these manuscripts are not used in this way; they are consulted locally not as history but as handy manuals for the social, contemporary control of exogamy and the prevention of incest.

From today's standpoint, I view the Documents, I, as a fairly comprehensive Sherpa narrative, constructed in a small society, which has lived to-date on the margin of the great currents of Buddhist and Hindu expansion. Like any narrative compiled in a society where orally-transmitted information is the primary source of knowledge and where much knowledge is founded on faith, it gives what can only be a partial view of the past.[21] As such it represents the viewpoint of a

highly intelligent lama who is our contemporary. It is not, in the Western sense, a Sherpa history. It is not pitched on an even, didactic key. It does not contain analysis of those exactly dated, objectively interlocked sequences of events that are, seemingly, so important for the Western mind. But in the West too, where history is no longer oral but printed, the guru who does his job does not content himself with telling his pupils to read books. And it is the oral commentary in the East as in the West that breathes new life into the texts at each generation and furnishes the impulsion to their contemporary understanding. Moreover, for a Sherpa, as for a Westerner, certain statements--but not all--require verification. The Sherpa does not question seriously what a lama says about the structure of the universe any more than I question what an atomic physicist tells me about the same subject. For both of us, certain matters are a question of faith, others are not. For instance, both the Sherpa and I would tend to verify a statement about the price of rice very carefully, even if it was made by a lama.

I will end with two remarks of a general nature. Let me say, first, that I do not believe that the kind of collaboration I achieved with my co-author would have been possible had I been working in an illiterate tribal society. The anthropologist is seldom a success as a cultural catalyst; and I do not pretend to have invented a passe partout method for filling in documentary gaps in local cultures. But what seems worthy of note is that Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin and I could and did collaborate not only because we spoke the same language, but also because we shared a certain literary background of Tibetan texts. Not only did each know what the other was saying; each knew also, to some extent, what the other was talking about. The second point I wish to make derives from the first. In a Tibetan cultural context, if a book survives, it does so not entirely on its own merits, however great these may be, but because somewhere, somehow, it is related to oral tradition and the living heritage. The reasons for its survival are to be sought not only in its content but in the complex paraphernalia of oral traditions that surround it and maintain its meaning, its contemporary cultural relevance. To me it is a sobering thought that the future of our book will depend on what is said about it.

Notes

1 Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie comparativé, Universite de Paris X, Nanterre.

2 For the word rabs, see recently R.A. Stein, "rabs"et composita "récit" et "genre", being Appendice 2 of his article "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang" in Etudes Tibétaines dédiées a la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, Paris, 1971, pp. 537-545.

3 By John Murray. On p. 18, for instance, one reads: "Traditions and Myths relating to the Sherpas' migration to the regions of Khumbu and Solu and the establishment of the present villages are almost completely lacking". This is the kind of statement an ethnographer who does not know a language is always liable to make.

4 More exactly at Innsbrück-München at Universitätsverlag Wagner Ges. M.B.H., being teil I of the Beiträge zur Sherpa-Forschung.

5 Ru-dam Rdzogs-chen O-rgyan bsam-gtan chos-gling was founded in 1685 by a contemporary of the Fifth Dalai lama, Padma rig-'dzin. Zhe-chen was founded in 1734 by 'Gyur-med kun-bzang rnam-rgyal. My copy of the Zhe-chen chos-'byung was published at Leh in 1971 by T.Y. Tashingangpa under the title A Concise Historical Account of the Techniques of Esoteric Realisation of the Nyingmapa and other Buddhist Traditions of Tibet, being the text of Snga-'gyur rdo-rje theg-pa gtso-bor gyur-pa'i sgrub-brgyud shing-rta brgyad kyi byung-ba brjod-pa'i gtam mdor-bsdus legs bshad padma dkar-po rdzing-bu. This text was composed by Zhe-chen rgyal-tshab Padma rnam-rgyal in 1910. Included along with the chos-'byung in the same volume is the dkar chag of the collected works in thirteen volumes of Padma rnam-rgyal. I have also in my library a manuscipt copy of the same author's gtam tshogs but have not yet found a publisher for it.

6 Here is what I wrote in the avant-propos to the Documents in 1971: "Sans s'arrêter sur la constatation facile que les idées scientifiques occidentales ne remuent pas beaucoup l' esprit du paysan de Solu-Khumbu (il n'y a pas de commun language), admettons d'emblée que les missions occidentales au Népal se suivent et se ressemblent. Porteuses à l'arrivée d'argent et de médicaments (qui sont, certes, les bienvenus), elles emportent, quelques mois plus tard, vers l'occident, des documents et des idées: connaissances acquises d'une part, perte d'un fragment du patrimoine culturel de l'autre. Par la suite, chacun des participants continuera à s'intéresser à soi-même. Avouons que c'est là une assez méchante forme de troc. Peut-on faire autre chose que d'y

participer à son tour? Ce sont, je crois, les écrits de Gene Smith qui m'ont donné le courage de persévérer dans une forme de discours dont on percevra peut-être les premiers balbutiements dans un article paru dans l'Homme, janvier-mars 1966, et intitulé "Les Tamang vus par l'un d'eux". Car nul mieux que Gene Smith n'a su cerner les idées préconcues et opposées avec lesquelles le Tibétain et le Tibétologue abordent encore la lecture d'un même texte. Pour ma part, de plus en plus insatisfait d'une ethnologie des orientaux qui ne s'adresse en fin de compte qu'à quelques lecteurs occidentaux hautement spécialisés, j'ai tenté ici un effort réel pour entamer le dialogue avec les Sherpa, c'est à dire fournir un moyen de communication directe entre l'ethnologue et ceux qu'il étudie. Il s'agissait de se plier aux exigences d'une science qui requiert l'exactitude philologique et le classement ordonné des matériaux et en même temps de fournir, dans un cadre conventionnel, une lecture instructive et pas trop rébarbative aux gens des pays Sherpa. En deux mots, afin d'éviter le voyeurisme distingué, triste héritage de l'époque colonialiste, qui est la marque de tant de travaux anthropologiques occidentaux, j'ai cherché a provoquer une situation où les gens, les premiers intéressés de l'enquête, se racontent dans le contexte de leur vie quotidienne".

7 For instance my Matériaux pour l'étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine, Paris, vol. 1, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967 and vol. 2, Klincksieck, 1971. Since the publication of these two volumes, further materials on the ro-sgrung have been made available by Dieter Schuh in Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke sowie Tonbandaufnahmen tibetischer Erzählungen, Teil 5, (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. XI, 5), Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973.

8 Dus mthar chos smra-ba'i btsun-pa ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu'i rnam-thar chi-med bdud-rtsi'i rol-mtsho. For information on Ngag dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu, see, for instance, Kailash vol. I, n°3, Kathmandu 1973 pp. 226-227. The other biography I refer to is entitled Kho-bo bya-btang chos-dar ram ngag-dbang nor-bu bzang-por 'bod-pas rang-snang 'khrul-pa chul-bzhin brjod-pa mukti-ka'i phreng-ba. This latter blockprint contains an interesting account of a pilgrimage to Dolpo. See p. 28a and 28b.

9 See Kailash, loc. cit. pp. 232-233, note 28. In Tibetan tradition, if not on our maps, the locations of Mkhan-pa lung are multiple. In my present opinion, the cult of this sbas-yul is perhaps of Bhutanese origin, being linked with the name of Padma gling-pa.

10 Mkhan-pa lung is also mentioned on fol. 2a of the print Shar khum-bu rol-ba gling gi'dab'brel gsang-sngags theg-mchog chos-gling gi bca'-yig kun-gsal me-long. Rol-ba gling has been described recently by Janice M. Sacherer, Sherpas of the

Rolwaling valley, in Objets et Mondes, t. XIV, fasc 4. Paris, 1974, pp. 317-324.

11 Many examples of this type of conflict are to be found in John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones (editors), Spirit Possession in Nepal Himalaya, Aris & Phillips, Warminster 1976, passim. See also A. Höfer, Urgyen Pema und Tusur Bon "Eine Padmasambhava-Legende der Tamang, Nepal," in H. Berger (ed.) Mündliche Uberlieferungen in Südasien, Fünf Beiträge, Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Institutes der Universität Heidelberg 17, Wiesbaden, F. Steiner, 1973.

12 Gangs-ljongs rgyal bstan yongs rdzogs kyi phyi mo snga-'gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul dag cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha dbang g-yul las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo che'i sgra dbyangs and Gsang-sngags snga-'gyur rnying-ma-ba'i bstan-pa'i rnam gzhag mdo tsam brjod-pa legs bshad snang-ba'i dga'-ston.

13 F.W. Funke, Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, teil II of the Beiträge zur Sherpa Forschung, was published by Universitäts Verlag Wagner Ges. M.B.H., Innsbrück München, in 1969; and M. Schmidt-Thomé and T.T. Thingo, Materielle Kultur und Kunst der Sherpa, as t. iii. of the same series is 1976.

14 I do not wish to deny in any way the value of a local man's description of village rites and festivals. Good recent examples of inside descriptions are Thubten Sangay's Tibetan Birth Ceremonies and Tibetan Ceremonies of the Dead, published at Dharmsala in 1975.

15 See David L. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himālaya, Travels and studies in quest of the origins and nature of Tibetan Religion, Bruno Cassirer, Oxford 1957, Chapter VI.

16 See Ethnologische Zeitschrift 1973, II, Zurich, pp. 145-146.

17 See Giuseppe Tucci in Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei, Verlag W. Kolhammer, Stuttgart 1970, pp. 94-105 in particular.

18 "Comparative Religion: Whither and Why?" in The History of Religions, Essays in Methodology, edited by Mircea Eliade and J. Kitagawa, Chicago 1966, pp. 31-58. The quotation comes from pp. 52. See also the interesting debate between P. Kvaerne "A reply to Wilfred Cantwell Smith" and Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "The finger that points to the moon" in Temenos, vol. 9, Helsinki 1973, pp. 161-172.

19 See in particular R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, Paris, 1959, and my review of this great study

in L'Homme, 1, 3, September-December, 1961, pp. 136-140.

20 "Myths and facts: reconsidering some data concerning the clan history of the Sherpas" in Kailash, vol.II, n°1 & 2, Kathmandu 1974, p. 128.

21 Stephen Crites has recently argued that individual human experience is itself essentially narrative ("The Narrative Quality of Experience" in Journal of the American Academy of Religion, vol. 39, n°3, September 1971, pp. 291-311). I thank Prof. Bardwell Smith for drawing my attention to this article.

THE COMING OF BUDDHISM TO THE SHERPA AREA OF NEPAL

The Sherpa, of whom there are about fifteen thousand in the Solu-Khumbu area, are one of the most-studied ethnic groups in Nepal.[1] The Sherpa live at present within the political limits of Nepal, a Hindu kingdom in which they occupy a marginal geographical and religious position. The religion of the Sherpa is today Mahāyāna Buddhism with some slight shamanistic residues, Hindu influence, particularly in the more southern districts, being more recent. Buddhism came into the area from the North, mainly in its sṅa-'gyur rniṅ-ma form, and had doubtless already inter-acted with Bon as well as with other Tibetan Buddhist schools of thought by the time when, four hundred or so years ago, the Sherpa ancestors crossed what is today the political frontier between Nepal and the autonomous region of Tibet in the Chinese Peoples Republic. The religion of Nepal itself has not yet been conceptualized in satisfactory terms. Apart from the marked local differences which are accentuated by geographical, ethnic and linguistic cleavages, the religion of the country is generally depicted as a synthesis of Buddhism and Hinduism rooted in an all pervasive Animism. The word 'syncretic' is often used to designate particular Hindu or Buddhist religious manifestations. My own view is that, apart from the difficulties inherent to the definition of Animism (for which no generally recognized Canon exists), the notion of syncretism is quite inadequate; and I prefer to envisage the on-going religious scene as a royal management of local, ancestral and 'Indian' cults in a social context which itself is being rapidly modified by the growth of education, the improvement of means of communication and the expansion of a bureaucracy oriented towards national integration as well as Hinduisation. Caste, class and economic status are the primary factors which influence individual religious behaviour. An individual will worship in succession Hinduist, Buddhist and Animist spirit-

1 See, for instance, Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, London 1963; M. Oppitz, Geschichte und Sozialordnung der Sherpa, Innsbruck-Munich 1968; F.W. Funke, Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, Innsbruck-Munich 1969; M. Schmidt-Thomé and T.T. Thingo, Materielle Kultur und Kunst der Sherpa, Innsbruck-Munich 1975; S.B. Ortner, Sherpas through their rituals, Cambridge 1978.

powers; and to designate him by an adjective derived from one of these three types of behaviour or by a combination of two or three of them does not strike me as sociologically meaningful. However this may be I find myself compelled at the outset to define what I mean by religion; and for the purposes of this paper I shall accept the definition put forward by Clifford Geertz: 'A system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence, and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic'.[2]

In the Sherpa case, no stone inscriptions help us to date the arrival of Buddhism in Khumbu or Solu; and written local records in the form of Nepalese copper-plate inscriptions or Tibetan manuscripts are scant and are moreover seldom directly pertinent to our enquiry as to the conditions prevailing when Buddhism entered the area. So when Saṅs-rgyas bstan-'jin and I put together in 1970 the Čhos-'byuṅ of the Sherpa area[3] we were forced to rely primarily on oral tradition when we came to write down what was locally recognized as having taken place at that period. However unsatisfactory this constraint may be considered to have been, I would suggest that it had the advantage of making us depict how those directly concerned envisage their own past. What we wrote was not phrased in foreign, academic terminology. Čhos is, in essence, a message which comes from the past; it is relayed through language; it motivates and gives direction to human behaviour. In a word, it is lived. Its objective, scientific observation in view of its description and classification should not be confounded with religion itself. To divide Buddhism up into Texts, History, Doctrine and Ritual as if it were a university cursus in a Faculty composed of Philologists, Historians, Philosophers and Anthropologists leads all too often to a fundamental mis-conception of its social force as a dynamic and highly adaptable system of beliefs.

According to local oral tradition, when the ancestors of the Sherpa crossed the Snaṅ-pa'i gaṅs-la from Tibet, over 400 years ago, the lama Gsaṅ-ba rdo-rje and the lama Luṅ-bsam were the sole worthy representatives of the religious lineage stemming back to Kaḥ-thog in Khams. They stayed some time at Nam-mkha'i rjoṅ, a place where the solitarily-inclined Milarepa had already sojourned. It is said

2 Religion as a cultural system, in M. Banton (ed.), Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, London 1966, p. 4.

3 Car-pa'i Čhos-byuṅ sṅon-med chaṅs-pa'i dbyu-gu, in Documents pour l'étude de la Religion et de l'Organisation sociale des Sherpa, I; Junbesi/Paris-Nanterre 1971; pp. 15--123. For the circumstances in which this text was composed, see A.W. Macdonald, The writing of Buddhist History in the Sherpa area of Nepal: A.K. Narain (ed.), History of Buddhism, Delhi 1979, pp. 121--132.

of them that they caused old dogs to appear as tigers and leopards while, at the same time, they guided the local people towards the path of enlightenment and religious discipline. The Sherpa settlement in Khumbu became known to the people of Gcaṅ on the northern side of the mountains; and people from Dbus and Gcaṅ began to come over and settle in Khumbu also. These settlers were at first subject to Tibetan authority. The Nepalese authorities, preoccupied by the situation, sent some infantry up to the area. So the Tibetan authorities gave up their claims to executive control and distribution of land-holdings. Some of the Tibetan settlers went back to Tibet; a few Khams-pa stayed on with the Sherpa. Gsaṅ-ba rdo-rje settled at Spaṅ-po-čhe where he inaugurated the cult of a mgon-po of Indian origin whom he took as his yi-dam. It is said of Gsaṅ-ba rdo-rǰe that he used to hang his religious robes on the sun's rays; that his brother Rol-ba rdo-rǰe could twist with his bare hands an iron lance; that his second brother Mkhyen-pa rdo-rǰe erected a statue in bell-metal of Tārā on top of seven grains, piled one above another. Gsaṅ-ba rdo-rje later went to work in Diṅ-ri and died there. When he was incinerated, his brain, tongue and eyes did not burn: they were installed as relics by his Sherpa disciples in the temple he had erected at Spaṅ-po-čhe. Another of the early lamas, Pha-čhen, could fly in the air. He went for some months to Gçoṅs-roṅ (Solu) but later returned to Khumbu. Generally speaking there seems to have been an initial thrust of lamas towards the south, followed by a reflux towards the north. Initially Khumbu seems to have been practically an empty land (luṅ-stoṅ mi-med-pa), whereas Solu was already inhabited by Rai and Indo-Nepalese groups. There are many stories of the panic generated among the latter peoples when they first saw the Sherpa's yaks which they took for un-natural monsters.

By and large, small dgon-pa were elevated on the sites of ancient ri-khrod and not within the limits of human settlements. They were not dgon-pa in villages, nor were they village dgon-pa. On rock formations, there are the traces of the hand-marks, the feet and the ritual instruments of the founding lamas. The worship of nāg and nāgini (klu and klu-mo) which, according to local tradition, was current in Solu prior to the arrival of Buddhism, persisted after its coming. Offerings of flowers made by shephereds and cattle-herders at springs and in natural caverns are also mentioned. Lamas used their clairvoyance not only for religious purposes but also to check whether their disciples drank secretly of the beer they were sent to fetch. Certain boulders which are today too heavy to be lifted are pointed to as the mounts of early lamas.

A point which should be emphasized is that Buddhism settled into the area without any direct intervention by the State, whether Tibetan or Nepalese. It was imposed locally by what one might term highly individualistic frontier lamas, filled with a crusading spirit, in an age deemed by local opinion to have been heroic, when the manipulation of magical powers seems to have been the activity which

most impressed men's minds.[4] The clientèle of these lamas, and doubtless to some extent their economic support, came from individual clans or clan-segments led by tough, energetic men.

The early religious settlement of the area did not take place without conflicts between the lamas themselves. One such conflict is of public notoriety and is worth relating at length. The story starts in Solu and concerns the rivalry between the Ser-pa Rdo-rje bzaṅ-po and another lama called Dgon-pa whose predecessors hailed from Khams Lho-brag gra-sṅa and Khams Žva-mo dul-dum. One day the Ser-pa lama was told by a wicked layman, wild of spirit, who wanted to stir up trouble, that a miraculous creature, a blag-khyi[5] had been born on a high rock-face. As the common people could not catch it, he suggested that the Ser-pa lama and the lama Dgon-pa, who had settled near Spyi-dgon, show their prowess by capturing it. The Ser-pa lama told him to prepare a rope in order to reach the nest of the blag-khyi and sent him off. Shortly afterwards the Ser-pa went to visit Dgon-pa. Dgon-pa refused to compete, pretexting his own lack of courage and dexterity, and told the Ser-pa to go ahead on his own. Burnt offerings were made to the gods, ser-skyems and offerings to the divine protectors accomplished. The Ser-pa, carrying no weapons, went with the wicked layman to the rock-summit. The rope was firmly attached to a tree. The Ser-pa made the layman swear he would not touch the rope. He himself then stuck a gter-phur, a gift from his ancestors, in his belt, took hold of the rope and climbed down. At that point, the wicked layman on the summit set fire to the rope with the help of his flint-box and it started to smoulder. The Ser-pa smelled the smoke, stuck his gter-phur into the rock-face, fastened the rope to it and held on. The burned section of the rope fell downwards and the wicked individual up top called out: 'Victory to the gods! From today onwards the force of the Ser-pa lama's teaching has been weakened. That of lama Dgon-pa will prevail!' and went off to see lama Dgon-pa. The Ser-pa stuck a wooden dagger into the rock-face, tied the rope to it, pulled out his own gter-phur then climbed down safely to the ground, holding on to the rope, and went home.

The next day, one of Dgon-pa's men, thinking that the Ser-pa must be dead, went to look, saw the tracks of the Ser-pa's departure and returned panic-stricken to the lama Dgon-pa. Dgon-pa blamed him, pointed out that he had previously said he could not compete with the Ser-pa, and opined that they now risked death at his hands.

4 On the exercise of magical powers in a similar cultural context see D.L. Snellgrove, Four Lamas of Dolpo I, Oxford 1967, pp.13 and 29.

5 A blag-khyi according to oral tradition is a dog which is born from one of two eggs laid by a bird which is a blag (I do not understand this word). From the other egg is born a bird. When dog and bird grow larger, the bird habitually eats the dog; so such dogs are naturally somewhat rare.

Meanwhile the Ser-pa had told his followers about the situation. With blood from his gums he wrote on a pillar in his lha-khaṅ: 'Nothing serious has happened to the Ser-pa lama: at present he is absent on religious business'. Alone, at night-time, he left Brag ciṅ-thog for Khumbu. Shortly afterwards the wicked layman set out to follow his tracks. When the Ser-pa reached Nags-čhe, he hid in the house of one of his nuns. The nun posted a shepherd as lookout and hid the Ser-pa in a large grain-bin which she fastened shut with a pad-lock before herself going to a neighbours's house. The following evening the wicked layman arrived and, pretexting business, searched the nun's house without success. Eventually he met the lookout and questioned him. 'Yesterday and today no one came' was the answer. 'Three days ago a young man with a curly beard, dressed in religious clothes, who said he'd come from Çoṅs-roṅ, went up the hill while I was grazing my sheep'. The wicked individual decided to give up the chase and returned to Solu. The Ser-pa, freed from his hiding-place by the nun, gave her excellent instruction then went on his way up to Tibet. He stayed three years in Dbus and Gcaṅ where he studied with diverse Rñiṅ-ma-pa teachers.

Now Guru Padma byuṅ-gnas had hidden five sku-chab in Tibet, one of them in Rcib-ri. Its owner Gsuṅ-ldan rdo-rje gave it to the Ser-pa, realising that one day he would need it. After his three years in Tibet, the Ser-pa disguised himself as a poor beggar and returned to Spaṅ gon-ma. There he met one of his uncles. This uncle had a vision of Rdo-rje bzaṅ-po in which the latter became one with the sku-chab in his possession. Uncle and nephew interpreted this vision as a presage that their projects would meet with success. The uncle suggested that, in order to amuse the people, a competition be staged between his nephew and Dgon-pa. The winner of the context would become lama of the area for the people would take him as their leader. In order to spread the doctrine of the Buddha, signs must be manifested testifying to the superiority of the true religious lineage of Rdo-rje bzaṅ-po. Invitations were despatched, Dgon-pa was invited and the preparation of a zor[6] began, in the public view. Everything was got ready for a seven-day show.

The Ser-pa lama, disguised as a poor begger, sat down at the end of the rank of Dgon-pa's followers and did nothing except murmur Maṇis. Dgon-pa put on his exorcist's robes, offered premices, opened wide his eyes and with a fearsome expression on his face executed the dance of the zor. Nothing happened: the zor did not move. Rdo-rje bzaṅ-po's uncle rose from his place among the public and declared: 'O lama rin-po-čhe who holds in his power the three existences and whose brilliance outshines the three worlds! Today in the heavens the stars are favourable. On earth the nectar-bearing fruits are ripe. In this intermediate space we are today holding this excep-

6 On zor, see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, 'S-Graven-hage, 1956, p. 354 and the index: p. 647.

tional festive meeting. If the greatness of the Doctrine, the power of the secret teachings which are its essence, do not manifest themselves, we the patrons, men and women alike, we shall be ashamed. You, lamas, who know how to guide the living and the dead, you too will be shamed: and all of a sudden that beggar will laugh'. The Ser-pa lama, disguised as a poor beggar, spoke: 'Disgust, shame and the desire to laugh are the feelings which predominate in me. What that man has just said is undoubtedly true but he himself can do nothing about it. A religion which is not meditated and knowledge which is not applied deceive no one. The taking of Refuge and the Buddha himself never deceive. These two parts of religion are of equal importance. As for me, a wandering beggar of little perceptiveness, consumed with the desire to laugh, up to now I hadn't made up my mind: but now I am going to act'. From his place at the end of the rank, he stood up. Up till that moment the mandala, the zor and the gtor-ma had remained immobile: but now they started to tremble. Putting aside his anger, the poor begger danced a joyful dance. In whatever direction the Ser-pa lama moved, the zor and the gtor-ma, moving to right and left, followed him. Lama Dgon-pa, filled with shame, incapable of reacting, his body trembling, deprived of speech, his mind perturbed, not knowing what to do, made no move. Then the lama dressed as a beggar took up the zor-gtor and cried: 'Hum bhyoh! I've made no mistakes and I've remained constant. I invoke the Buddha, etc., as witnesses to the path of the zor. Bhyoh! Don't forget! Don't forget! May the Doctrine, the gods and the zor in unison destroy the hosts of illusory enemies! Wherever the zor falls, there may the teaching of the uninterrupted lineage of the Ser-pa prevail!'. With these words he launched the zor on its way with powerful imprecations. All those present saw the zor-gtor go skywards with a noise of rushing fire and they proclaimed: 'May the dominion of the lineage of the Ser-pa lama Rdo-rje bzaṅ-po be established! May the primacy of the Ser-pa lama Rdo-rje bzaṅ-po be set higher than the sky!'. At that point lama Dgon-pa and his disciples ran away. The zor, when it came down, hit a tree, scattering ashes, then landed on a boulder at two or three voice-calls' distance from Spaṅ-gon-ma. Today its trace is clearly discernable on the boulder, known today as Log gtor-logs. The Ser-pa lama installed himself at a place called Ser-logs, a short distance above the boulder. It is at Ser-logs that the new dgon-pa called Ser-dgon Bcad-sgrub zuṅ-'brel gliṅ was founded in 1959 A.D.

After his defeat, lama Dgon-pa went to a valley some distance to the west and some years later died there. His spiritual descendants and pupils continued to diffuse the teachings of the Bka'-brgyad, the Ži-khro, etc. Later the Ser-pa lama's disciples built a stūpa. When it was consecrated, a shower of flowers fell from the sky and nearby, from time to time, could be heard the sound of divine music. This roused the jealousy of Dgon-pa's successors who sent a group of seven widows to brandish their used under-wear above the stūpa. From then onwards the divine music was no longer heard. However one of the widows fell from the stūpa and was killed. Five others

died, vomiting blood, on their way home. The sole survivor, after explaining what had happened, also died.

As a riposte to the insult to the stūpa, the Ser-pa lama's followers made a khrag-gtor[7] and propulsed it in the direction of Dgon-pa's disciples. In consequence blood-sickness became widespread among the latter. Continuing the vendetta, two of Dgon-pa's followers who were still in good shape launched a bee on a mda'-zor[8] against their rivals. To this day the spiritual descendants of the Ser-pa lama often have trouble with their eyes as a consequence of that bee's stings.[9]

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Regretfully I must abandon this mafia-like scenario, many pungent details of which I have omitted in my summary. Have I been talking about Religion? Is this Buddhism? The same question was put to himself by a great lama in previous days when he reflected on certain ritual practices current in Tibet in his time. To my mind, the answer to the question is, unhesitatingly: 'Yes, it is Buddhism, but only one facet of that very complex religion.' Just as Western adults tend to attribute animistic and magical beliefs to their own children, so do Sherpa attribute such beliefs to their own ancestors. Sherpa Buddhism is many-sided. It vehicles conceptions of knowledge, of the path towards enlightenment, of freedom from suffering, of religion, of merit, of human existence, of the transmission of teachings, of mundane events, of reality and of religious acts, all these conceptions being components of its world-view. Such conceptions did not suddenly impose themselves on public consciousness. They were diffused and became accepted as basically realistic over a long period in time. They did not all of a sudden become subjects of preoccupation and motivations for certain types of behaviour in society. Let me stress only one of the conceptions enumerated above: that concerned with the transmission of teachings. When we study Sherpa Buddhism, we must remember that we are in a world where the re-discovery of holy objects and texts buried by Padmasambhava (sa-gter) for propagation by future emanations (dgoṅs-gter) and the passing on and handing down of instructions by gurus and tutelaries in visions (dag-snaṅ) are widely accepted social facts. In order to analyze the social context in which such happenings acquired 'an aura of factuality', came even to seem 'uniquely realistic', I would suggest that the current anthropological concepts of élitist, orthodox, popular or magical Buddhism are of little assistance. These concepts were in fact forged to analyze situations in which Buddhism was already established.

7 See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit., pp. 354, 401.

8 See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit., pp. 355, 496, 499.

9 The feud summarised above is related on pp. 33-47 of the Çar-pa'i čhos-byuṅ cited in my note (3).

In Indian studies, the fusion of the disciplines of Indology and Social Anthropology has, in recent years, given impulsion to many studies devoted to the social and economic as well as to the religious aspects of Hinduisation. Srinivas' concept of Sanskritisation, Redfield's emphasis on Great and Little Tradition, McKim Marriot's work on Universalisation and Parochialism, Stein's studies on nuclear areas of intensive Hinduisation and Bailey's stress on tribe-caste continua[10] have all contributed, along with studies on the functional role of pilgrimage, to a better understanding of the process of Hinduisation. However, over the same period, most studies devoted to the process whereby a given area or a particular human collectivity became or becomes Buddhist have, for obvious reasons, been concerned with Theravāda Buddhism. Now the Theravāda context is very different from the Sherpa Mahāyānist context. For example, in the Sherpa case we find no political leader who is a cakravartin, a bodhisattva or a devarāja. While ethnographic work on the frontier areas of Tibet may, hopefully, deepen our understanding of the processes of Tibetanisation and Lamaisation, one of the distinctive features of such processes would already appear to be a more marked separation of spiritual and political authority than is current in India itself and in those South East Asian lands influenced by Theravāda Buddhism.[11] As yet the sociology of Mahāyānism remains a comparatively untilled field.

10 See, for instance, M.N. Srinivas, Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, Oxford 1952 and A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization: The Far Eastern Quarterly XV (1955), pp. 481-496; R. Redfield, The Little Community. Viewpoints for the study of the Human Whole, Chicago 1955, and Peasant Society and Culture: an anthropological approach to Civilisation, Chicago 1956; McKim Marriot, Village India, Chicago 1955; B. Stein, Integration of the Agrarian System of South India: R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Madison 1969, pp. 175--216; F.G. Bailey, Tribe, Caste and Nation: a study of political activity and political change in Highland Orissa, Manchester 1960.

11 See the remarks of S.B. Ortner, op. cit., pp. 157--162.

CREATIVE DISMEMBERMENT AMONG THE TAMANG AND SHERPAS OF NEPAL

The Tamang are numerically one of the more important ethnic minorities of Nepal, numbering over 500,000. They live in and around the Kathmandu Valley and are implanted in large numbers to the north (Yol-mo and Lang thang), north-east and south, as well as to the north-west of the Valley. The Sherpas, concentrated mainly in Solu-Khumbu where there are about 15,000, are also to be found as far west as Yol-mo, but are numerically much less important. The presence of Tibetan documents in the Sherpa area of habitat is well known. Linguists, for example Martine Mazaudon who has worked mainly in the Risiangku area, some distance to the east of the Valley,[1] have pointed to the presence of Tibetan documents in Tamang hands but no thorough anthropological study of the role these documents play in Tamang culture has as yet been undertaken. Sherpas, apart from some slight shamanistic hang-overs, are Buddhists; and their Buddhism arrived from the north. Recently they have been influenced to some extent by Hinduism. The Tamang are not only Buddhists but, according to my colleague András Höfer who has studied the more western Tamang, maintain traditions stemming also from Hinduism, Shamanism (in the sense of the curing of the sick with the help of ecstatic ritual techniques) and their own tribal background.[2] Some years ago, I wrote a short article in L'Homme pointing to Tibetan influences in Tamang culture.[3] Since writing that article, a few more Tibetan documents in Tamang hands have come to my notice, the titles of which are as follows: 'Jig-rten gtam-gyis lo-rgyus srid-pa'i chags-pa'i byung-khung (9 fol.); 'Jig-rten gtam-gyi rta-dmag skad bzhugs-so (21 fol.). and 'Jig-rten bstan-bzhags zhugs-sho (18 fol.). The contents of these three manuscripts are basically similar. The creation of the universe is sketched out in mainly Buddhist terms. In a temporal sequence gods precede men on earth, some of the latter being affiliated to the former. Sky, wind, fire, earth and water are separated out along with the cardinal points. Colours are differentiated. Speech is divided into 360 skad-rigs and writing into 360 yig-rigs. The points on the earth's surface on which the Eighteen Great (Tamang) rus alight -their babs-sa - are indicated along with the pho-lha of each rus. These lists could be compared to the similar composite list published by Santabir Lama, to be found in my previous article on the Tamang.[4] It is not, however, the primary purpose of this paper to discuss such lists in detail; and at this point I do not wish to get too heavily involved in discussions of proper names. These three manuscripts depict an initial diaspora of gods and men which is throughout envisaged as a descent. They are not concerned with the structure of society or its re-structuring. All three manuscripts accord a primary place to the Ldong; and the Ldong will be already well known to you in the masterly

summary of the information concerning them to be found in Professor Stein's Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, p.31-51.[5] A fourth manuscript, which also contains a list of rus, babs-sa and pho-lha is entitled: Mi-chos srid-pa'i mgo-sngon lha-rgyud Ldong-gis che-rab zur-tsam-cig yod lags-sho. It has 17 fol. of 5 lines recto and verso, is signed by a certain bla-ma Nyi-ma brgyan-mtshan (about whom I know nothing) and, like the other manuscripts, is undated. I found it in an old box of Tibetan books and manuscripts at Bodhnath.

The spelling of this fourth manuscript is remarkably poor, and there are undoubtedly gaps in the traditions which it vehicles. After a somewhat muddled account of the creation of the universe, of gods and men, and the genealogy of a series of personages of divine then semi-divine origin, the manuscript devotes some space to the deeds of a certain Ldong chen-po Dpung-grags who married a lady called Stong Zab-mo rma-li. One day, in a country called Byang-kha sna-brgyad,[6] he went hunting with eight servants and they killed three g.yag. When they were getting ready to divide up the carcasses, the Ma-sang dpun-dgu - who will also be known to you through the work of Professor Stein on the Ge-sar epic[7] - hearing that one man had three carcasses, were jealous and went to steal them. Ldong chen-po, understanding what they had in mind and in order to break their pride, divided up the meat without having recourse to a knife. The Ma-sang dpun-dgu, realising that they were powerless against him, asked for meat to roast. Ldong chen-po named each portion of the meat (sha res la ming brtag-nas) and did not give them any. Again the Ma-sang dpun-dgu cried out and asked for portions. Ldong chen-po answered them: 'As the head is the principal portion, it should be offered to the gods of Ldong, the nine or twenty-five gods of creation: and I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the nape of the neck is the tree of life (srog-shing) of the head, it should be used for the great rten-'brel: and I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the back should be offered to the male ancestors of the great Ldong, I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the spinal cord should be offered to/by my ministers (blon), I won't give it to you. As the flesh of the lower parts should be eaten by my attendants ('khor), I won't give it to you. As the inner flesh should be given to my servants (bran pho mo rnams), I won't give it to you'. Saying that the flesh of the breast was fit for roasting, he gave it to them.[8] The Ma-sang dpun-dgu asked him how he had managed to kill the three g.yag; he lifted up the remains of the three g.yag with his right hand and said: 'I did like that; then I killed them'. Ldong chen-po then returned home carrying the three g.yag bodies, or what was left of them, on his shoulder.

The first comment that I wish to make is that in this instance gods and men of varying status are depicted as having rights to particular portions of dead g.yag whereas some of the meat is, so to speak, ritually neutral, and can be given even to hostile strangers.

To go back to our manuscript ... After returning home alone, Ldong chen-po is depressed and his wife asks him what is wrong. He answers that he is depressed, that is all. She says: 'If one wants a big herd of horses, one buys a lot of mares.' Ldong chen-po at once cheers up and organises offerings to be made by his Lha-bon to the Ldong-lhu dmu-dgu, to the twenty-five gods of the Ldong, etc. Thereafter Ldong chen-po takes six wives, whose names are indicated in the manuscript[9] and from whom he begets eighteen sons, fifteen of whose names are indicated.[10] These eighteen sons spread out in different directions, multiply exceedingly and prosper. Somewhat later, Ldong chen-po announces to the men of the four directions what are their rus. As they themselves cannot say what are their rus, they come together to ask him.[11] He leads them to the dead body of a g.yag and says: 'All of you, take hold of the body of this g.yag'. I will give you as name whatever part you take hold of. To those who seized the horns, he gave the name of Rva-pha. To those who seized the nose, he gave the name of Snar-pha. To those who seized the nape of the neck, he gave the name of Snya-shur-pha. To those who seized the tongue, he gave the name of Lce-pha. To those who seized the lungs (blo-ba), he gave the name of Blo-pha. Some seized the liver (phyin-pa: for mchin-pa?); he gave them the name of Phyin-pa-pha. Some took the blood; he gave them the name of Dmar-lpag. Some took the skin (rko-pa for ko-ba?); he gave them the name of Rgya spags-pa. Some seized the tail; he gave them the name of Rna-ldang. Some took the testicles; he gave them the name of Li-pha. Some seized the stomach; he gave them the name of Thing-pha. Some took the lungs (again blo-ba: doubtless a mistake); he gave them the name of Blo-pha. Some came up very happily; he gave them the name of Dgyes-shing.'[12] The enumeration stops at this point, and the manuscript goes on to deal with other matters which are not pertinent to my enquiry. You will have noticed that, in this case, more parts of the body are listed than in my first example, that the list concerns only men of one cultural group (the descendants of the Ldong), and that the pattern of distribution does not concern the Eighteen Great or Pure rus of the Tamang.

Les us now turn to some Sherpa documents which were published by Sangs rgyas bstan-'dzin and myself in 1971, and which appeared under two Western language titles: The Shar-pa Book in Kathmandu, and Documents pour l'etude de la religion et de l'organisation social des Sherpa, I, at Junbesi/Nanterre. My first example is taken from pages 151 through 154 of the Tibetan text. In Sherpa tradition the rigs of the Ldong are a branch of the Six Dwarfs (Mi-bu gdung-drug).[13] Under the leadership of Sger-rgyal, they moved into Khams and established themselves at Zal-mo sgang. Above Zal-mo sgang was the country Mi-gnyag ri-mang; below was Cha-mo rong. There were Eighteen Sho-khag in Khams and there were Eighteen Pure, human rus. The majority of the lineages descended from Sger-rgyal settled in the Mi-gnyag ri-mang and are called Mi-gnyags-pa. From the Mi-gnyags-pa there segmented off other rus: the Shar-pa, the Shis

brag-pa, the Mdo grub-pa, etc. The Ser-pa, for instance, were at Khams-Kah-thog or Ser-ta; the Lca-ba were at Khams Snyes-dong; the Tha-med were at Khams U-ni. Each of these four groups, troubled by the lengthy campaigns of Ge-sar in the Hor, Sog-po and Bdud countries, left the lands of their forefathers and set out for Tibet. When they were crossing the Byang-thang, at a place called Bsam-gtan chos-gling in the northern plain, at the moment when they reached there together, a lama called Dgon-pa Rol-pa rdo-rje was taming the wild male yak ('brong). The savage Mi-gnyags-pa who were present caught the wild yaks by their foreheads; the savage Tha-med caught the wild yaks by their humps; the savage Ser-pa caught the wild yaks by their tongues, and killed them. When the skinning and dismemberment of the wild yaks was finished, the forefathers of the Lca-ba arrived. Those present said to them: 'As we've finished carrying off the different quarters of flesh and bone of the wild yaks, you, Lca-ba, haven't got your share of the meat. You, Lca-ba, take as your share of the meat Bya-khyung dkar-po'. Then arrived the forefathers of the hunters (Rngon-pa'i mes-bo). Those present said to the: 'You, hunters, you haven't had your share of the meat. Some of you, take, any old how, bits of flesh and skin; and some of you, take, anyhow, bones and blood, and having cooked them angrily, eat them, hunters!'

In this example, we should note that the ancestral Sherpa clans are characterized by different techniques of killing wild yaks; that their savagery is presumably indicated by the fact that they kill the yaks and do not try to domesticate them as the lama does; and that those who arrive late for a ritual share-out are in the wrong. Presumably too there is some comic intent in the fact that it is the hunters (not members of a rus) who turn up when everything is over.

I will now turn to the account of the origin of the pho-lha[14] of the Lcags-pa and the groups with which they were in relation. It is to be found on pages 180 and 181 of the Tibetan text and is taken from the mes-rabs of the Lcags-pa. 'At the time when there was a big drinking-party in Mdo-khams, a male lha-g.yag came down from a rainbow turning in the sky. All the rus saw it and ran towards it. First the Lcags-pa seized the right horn: their pho-lha therefore became Bya-khyung dkar-po. The Mi-nyag (-pa) seized it by the forehead: their pho-lha became Gdong-dar. The Ser-pa seized it by the tongue: their pho-lha became Ar-sha. The Thi-mi seized it by the hump: their pho-lha became 'Od-ldan dkar-po. The 'Khram-pa seized it by the body: their pho-lha became Gzugs-po. The Dvags-po seized it by the lungs: their pho-lha became Glo-ba. Then, after each rus had carried off the flesh and skin of the divine yak, the hunters arrived. As they had not obtained a pho-lha, being in great distress, they looked up at the sky. From the firmament fell a white light the size of a jar and the hunters seized it: their pho-lha became Gnam-lha dkar-po. In this manner the name of the pho-lha of each rus was established.'

This is my last example. In it a similar pattern of dismemberment fixes the pho-lha of various Sherpa groups according to their different ways of seizing hold of the animal's body. As we are confronted by the Lcag-pas' own mes-rabs, it is not surprising that they arrive first. Here the hunters get the pho-lha.

In all the examples quoted there is a double movement: of the human beings in towards what we may call the sacrifice, and of hierarchised meat outwards towards the human participants who, in consuming it, acquire not only rights to be what they are but also religious duties. This is to say that the animal victim serves not only to fix the relationships between its human consumers but also classifies their relationships to their gods or, if you prefer, with the other world. In this respect its role rejoins that of the well-known Indian series of the fire, the cosmic mountain, the sacrificial pillar, the tree and the body of the giant. Man through this series measures himself against the cosmos which is itself measured against the instruments of this series: the result is not only a horizontal measurement of men's relationships with their neighbours but also a vertical measurement of man's relationship with the divine.

Thus far I have limited my enquiry to juxtaposing four Tibetan-language accounts of yak-dismemberment and to making a series of short, canny comments on each. Obviously the analysis should and must be carried further. My accounts are all taken from documents called in Tibetan rabs: even if the Ldong example does not have the word rabs in its title, its content proves it to be a rabs. Professor Stein has already pointed out that 'if the diachronic aspect predominates in the word rabs (succession, filiation) it also contains the synchronic notion of classification'.[15] Now while rabs in their entirety are not what sociologists and anthropologists would call models, the pattern of yak-dismemberment in the context of these rabs is, to my mind, an indigenous model of and for the differentiation of society,[16] that is to say: of its human members, its divine components and its rituals.

Were we to undertake a diachronic analysis of this model, we could point back on the Tibetan side to the theme of yak-dismemberment in Chapter VIII of the Tun-huang manuscript known as the Chronicle, which has been commented on by Nick Allen[17] and where it is already a question of the Ldong and the Stong who receive respectively the horns and the tendons. On the Indian plains side of the Himālaya, yaks being absent one would not expect to find the theme of their dismemberment, and one does not do so. However, I would point to the Puruṣasūkta[18] as the starting-point in time of a veritable series of transformational models of dismemberment conserved in literature and art[19] and which has occupied an essential place in Indian thinking about society from the late Vedic period up to comparatively modern times. Tibetan source materials have

not yet been examined with the same thoroughness as India's art and literature, and I would certainly be hard put to it to find Tibetan examples in any way comparable quantitively to the massive generation and maintenance of such models as has occured in India.

Were we to proceed synchronically, many of the documents figuring in two previous articles of mine, 'A propos de Prajāpati' and 'La notion du sambhogakāya à la lumière de quelques faits ethnographiques'[19] would have to be taken into account along with others evaluated recently by Nick Allen in his paper 'A Thulung myth and some problems of comparison'.[21] To my mind, it is not methodologically imperative to limit the analysis to the exemplary dismemberment of one species of animal, nor to confine the enquiry for comparative purposes to populations within the same linguistic or ethnic groups. Diverse social models have been generated and manipulated in different societies throughout the world where their presence is, seemingly, practically universal. Tibetans, Indians, Tamang, Sherpas and Americans are all human beings; and Clifford Geertz has well written that 'the perception of the structural congruence between one set of processes, activities, relations, entities, etc., and another set for which it acts as a program, so that the program can be taken as a representation, or conception - a symbol - of the programmed, is the essence of human thought.'[22] My four examples are not just stories, nor are they history. They vehicle and impose a view of the past (a darśana) which conditions the present and gives direction to the future of the societies concerned.

When reading the voluminous literature on models one often gets the impression that models have a sort of autonomous existence, that in the course of time they slide through a series of sometimes spectacular (but generally intellectually satisfying) transformations to their ultimate disappearance or displacement by other models, and this almost without human intervention. This impression may find justification in some writings about models but in many cases it conflicts with the reality of social facts. It derives from and is, in the first instance, conditioned by our own experience of the utilisation of models in our own society. In the present-day Western world, social models are primarily generated in and manipulated by academic circles: the application of such models, their direct impact on the outside world is practically nil.[23] Greatly impoverished versions of such academic models are, of course, ultimately used by politicians and ruling elites either to maintain the social status quo or to launch programmes of future reform or revolution. But, with us, politicians and rulers hardly ever invent such models; and the use to which the academics who invented them can and do put their models is socially, politically and religiously insignificant. An academic model may help its manipulator into a university chair: it does not change society and the world.

The context and the manner in which models are used in the type of Himālayan society we are dealing with in this paper, are quite

different. In the Himālayan cases, models are deliberately and directly exploited by political and economic élites who, if not themselves always very literate, have at their service, in a massively pre-literate milieu, beaux parleurs, literate scribes, monks and 'priests' to help them put them across. One does not need to know how to read Sanskrit or Tibetan to grasp the impact of the yak-dismemberment verbal messages. So the first point I wish to make is simple: in such societies models are not just made by men who vehicle them; they are used by certain men and groups of men as instruments of social control.

My next point follows on from this: a model only maintains a healthy transformational potentiality as long as it remains politically on centre. The most striking illustration of my argument which comes to mind is provided by the recent film of the Agnicayana ritual made by a team from the University of California, Berkeley. In that film, a ritual which was once, if philologists and Brahmanically-inclined anthropologists (not to speak of Brahmins!) are to be believed, one of the most effective normative instruments in the edification and consolidation of Hindu society, is dithered through in a jungle setting. Whoever sees the film realises at once that the ritual, as the expression of a conscious or unconscious model for Indian society, is a spent force. It may exemplify, to some extent, what India was. Carried out, in the 1970's at foreign expense, far from the geographical centres of current Indian political and economic power, and out of step with the pre-occupations of the common man, it no longer carries any message for India's future.

To return to my four examples, I am afraid I cannot tell you whether or not there lurks a dismemberment model in the unconscious of the Sherpa or Tamang common man.[24] The fact that such models have been transmitted orally down the centuries - the Tamang and the Sherpas are our contemporaries - and written down in the twentieth century suggests that this may be so: but I simply do not know enough about what goes on in the Tamang and Sherpa subconscious to make useful observations on the subject. However what I am reasonably sure of is that the yak-dismemberment models I have evoked will before long lose their efficacity in their local contexts if they are not transformed in time by their manipulators and adapted to the changing social context and local aspirations. If this is not done, the models and their manipulators will, like those who still know and can carry out the Agnicayana ritual, become the victims of history. It may be that future Tamang and Sherpa leaders are more likely to win response and active support to models phrased in terms of the re-distribution of surplus production or the class-struggle rather than to old tales about cutting up yaks. However this may be, that is their business and not ours. As for ourselves, I suggest that as social scientists we would employ ourselves more usefully in scrutinising the aptness for use in different cultural contexts of models of society, than in speculating on the past diffusion of Hindu, Tantric, Bon, Buddhist and other models into the Himālayan areas.

The fact that no anthropologist has observed and recorded a yak-dismemberment which re-structured a particular Tamang[25] or Sherpa group and its relationships with other human or divine groups does not trouble me overmuch. Inversely I would point to the fact that there is no Tibetan manuscript in Tamang or Sherpa hands, nor any recorded oral narrative, which explicitly formulates the rules of marriage in these societies. This does not mean that there are no such rules, nor does it mean that they are not observed. It is indeed part of the anthropologist's job to identify and to seize hold of the kind of models to which I have drawn attention, in the body of the ethnographic, textual and artistic materials at his disposal.

I have not enlarged on the place that meat, still less yak-meat, occupies in Tamang and Sherpa life, culinary custom and etiquette. Today, it is rice which is the pre-eminent, the prestige food in these areas, a custom doubtless introduced, in the process of Hinduisation, by the Indo-Nepalese conquerors in whose own society boiled rice occupies such an essential ritual role. The share-out of rice was once an important theme in early Buddhist literature on Society;[26] but rice does not seem to have been used in the Nepalese hills to formulate local models of society.[27] With regard to dismemberment we should remember that Jäschke's Dictionary under lhu-tshigs, reiterated by Desgodins', mentions twelve or eighteen such 'quarters';[28] and that the Tamang usually designate themselves as belonging to the Twelve or Eighteen Tamang.[29] There is also, as I have already stated, a local theory concerning the Eighteen Sherpas.[30]

Of the yak model it might be said that its total is more than the sum of its parts or, to put it another way, that the eighteen quarters, not all attested to in the 'poor' texts at our disposal, make of one whole yak one world. The contours of the society into which the eighteen rus contract are marked by the outline of the yak's body. Just as individuals are transformed by rites de passage into responsible adults, so are the rus, to which the individuals belong, integrated into a society through the different segments of the yak's body and are at the same time differentiated. By their integration they are named and express their submission to and their dependence on the distributor of the meat. The brahmin is not yet there to consecrate the measure of the chief's dominion over subjects, livestock and land. But the text spells out this relationship. The yak's body is not yet a mandala: the model is that of a society which is not yet Hindu.

Notes

1 See M. Mazaudon, Phonologie Tamang, SELAF, Paris, 1973, p.4, 39, 41.

2 A. Höfer, 'Some Non-Buddhist Elements in Tamang Religion', in Vasudha, XIV, 3, Kathmandu 1971, p.17-23. See also his 'Notes sur le culte du terroir chez les Tamang du Népal, in J. Thomas a and L. Bernot (eds.) Langues et Techniques, Nature et Société, Vol. 2, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971, and 'Is the "bombo" an Ecstatic? Some Ritual techniques of Tamang Shamanism', in Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal (ed. Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf), Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1974, pp.168-182.

3 'Les Tamang vus par l'un d'eux', in L'Homme, VI, I, Paris, Mouton et Cie., 1956, pp.27-58. This article was published in English translation in Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975, pp.129-167.

4 Essays on the Ethnology ..... p. 138.

5 Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, t. II, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959.

6 This presumably 20th century appellation goes back to old sources. See for instance, G. Uray, 'The Old Tibetan Sources on the History of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: a survey', in Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1979, pp. 299, 300, 302.

7 See for instance the index of Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, Vol. XIII, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 505.

8 Ms. p. 5a-5b: g-yag gis mgo-bo 'di no / sha'i phud yin-pas / ldong-gyis lha srid-pa'i lha dgu'am / nyi-shu rtsa-lnga la mchod dgos-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro / gnya'-pa'i sha ni kho go-bo'i srog-shing yin-pas / sten-'brel che-ba'i sha yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro / stod gyis sha ni ldong chen-po'i mes-pho mchod-pa'i sha yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro /bdal-mo'i sha ni ldong chen-po'i / blon-po rnams kyi bsol-rgyu yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro / smad kyi sha ni ldong chen-po'i 'khor-rnams bza'-rgyu yin-pas khyed la mid-ster-ro / nang gyi sha ni ldong chen-po'i bran pho mo rnams la sbyin-rgyu yin-pas khyed la mi-ster-ro / zhes gsung ste / brang gyi sha ni bsregs-sha'i 'os yin gsungs-ste bster-nas btang-ngo /

9 Ms. 4. p. 7a: yum-gyi min ri sman / sto-za ma-mo /'brong za-mo skyid-lding/ dar bzang-mo dge-sman / khu bzang-mo nya-mo rgyan/ bzi bzang-mo mtshog-leg /

10 Ms. p. 7a-b: cos-se tsoro /co-si go-ga'o /co-si ra-ga gsum /rtse-rtse dpal / rtse-rtse por /rtse-rtse phrom / go-ba [gap] btsan-pa/ 'dar-tsha gsum /bha-bha/ khu 'ol /'phrul-ka gsum / bod-dpa' /zhi-pa /gling-pa gsum/

11 Ms. p. 8a-b: de'i dus-su phyog-bzhi'i mi-rnams la khyed-kyis rus 'di yin/ nga'i rus 'di yin zer-pa med-pa la /ldong chen-po'i drung-du mtshogs-nas zhus-pa/ nged thams-cad la rus ming re bsnang-ba zhu zhus-pas/

12 Ms. p. 8b-9a thams-cad g-yag gis ro 'di la bzung-cig / gang 'dzin-pa di'i ming bstag-so gsung-pas / ro-ba la bzung-bas / ra-pha mtshan zhes stags-so / sna-ba la bzung-pas / snar-pha mtshan zhes stags-so/[ ] snya-ba la bzung-pas / snya' shur-pha mtshan zhes stags-so /lce la bzung -pas / lce-pha mtshan zhes stags-so / blo-ba la bzung-pas / blo-pha mtshan zhes stags-so // la-las phyin-pa la bzung-bas /phyin-pha mtshan zhes su bstag-so /khrag la bzung-pas /dmar-lpag zhes su stags-so / la-las rko-pa la bzung-pas / rgya-spags-pha mtshan zhes bstags-so / rnga-ma la bzung-bas / de la rnga-ldang zhes-su bstags-so / rlig-pa la bzung-bas / li-pha mtshan du bstags-so / grad-pa la bzung-pas/ thing-pha mtshan du bstagso/ la-las blo-ba la bzung-bas /blo-pha mtshan du bstags-so / la-las thams-cad dgyes-nas slebs-pas /de la dgyes-shing du bstag-so/-

13 For further references, see R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée..., index, p. 638, under 'tribus primitives'.

14 On Tibetan pho-lha, see R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilisation, tr. by J.E. Stapleton Driver, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1972, pp. 206, 222, 227, 238 and G. Tucci and W. Heissig, Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie, tr. by R. Sailley, Paris, Payot, 1973, pp.239, 246, 254. To my knowledge, there exists no adequate account of the cult of the pho-lha among the Tamang and Sherpa of Nepal. From the lists in the four manuscripts we are concerned with, it would seem that while many of the pho-lha are btsan some are yul-lha. Moreover one rus may worship several pho-lha: in the case of the Zhang/ Zhangs-pa are indicated Dbus-kyi jo-bo; Dgun-thang-gi jo-bo; Mthang-dpal kyi jo-bo; and Yambur jo-bo (does this signify that his seat is at Kathmandu?). Again, the Smag-bstan worship what is apparently a whole family of lha: Yab brtse lha'i rgyal-po; Yum Nyi-li mtsho-sman rgyal-mo; Sras Chibs-brtsan rgyal-po Rgyab-brtsan rgyal-po. Different rus have sometimes the same pho-lha. It is not at all clear whether the pho-lha are lineage divinities or not; nor do I understand how their cult was inaugurated and is maintained.

15 See R.A. Stein, 'Du recit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang', in Etudes tibétaines dédiées a la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971, p. 540.

16 See C. Geertz, 'Religion as a culture system', in Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, A.S.A. Monographs, 3. (ed. M. Banton), London, Tavistock Publications, 1966, p.7-8. On the respect with which indigenous models should be treated, see C. Lévi-Strauss, Anthropologie structurale, Paris, Plon, 1958, p.309, 310.

17 'Quadripartition of Society in Early Tibetan Sources', in Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1978, fasc. 3 & 4, pp. 345-347. See also pp.15-17 of Gene Smith's Appendix I to A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge, New Delhi, 1969, Śata-Pitaka Series Vol. 78, edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra.

18 See Cours de Paul Mus, La première constitution hindoue, Ṛg Veda X, 90 in Annuaire du College de France, 1960-61, Paris, pp.275-277.

19 See the remarks of Paul Mus in 'Pensée occidentale et doctrines orientales,' article reprinted in L'angle de l'Asie (éd. Serge Thion), Collection Savoir, Paris, Hermann, 1977, particularly pp. 171, 172.

20 Journal Asiatique, 1952, pp. 323-338, and 1955, p.101-115: English translations in Essays on the Ethnology .... pp. 1-13 and 73-80.

21 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford, IX, 3, pp.157-166

22 loc. cit., p. 8.

23 For example, in France the models issued from Structuralism have influenced the content of the weeklies and the monthlies and are the subject of conversation, outside universities, in cafés and bars: but they have not had any profound social, religious or political consequences. Structuralists would not occupy any part of the animal in my illustration.

24 Elsewhere, among the Western Tamang, my friend A. Höfer (personal communication) found the dismemberment theme in a little myth: One day, a cow belonging to four brothers, Jeṭhā, Mahīlā, Sahīlā and Kancā, died. The three younger brothers made the eldest eat, unknowingly, of the cow's meat. After the meal, they told him what he had done. Furious, Jethā hit out at Mahīlā with the entrails (symbolizing the sacred thread, janai) and the latter became the Brahmin; he hit out at Sahilā with the stomach (symbolizing the kerchief, rumāl) and the latter became the Ṭhakuri; he hit out at Kāncā with the skin (symbolizing the bellows, khālati) and the latter became the Kāmi. The eldest brother himself became the Tamang. The story serves to explain why Brahmins 'caress' daily a cow's entrails, that is to say their sacred threads (janai), when pronouncing the Gāyatri mantra.

Mythical and physical dismemberment do not always overlap; but I doubt whether the one could exist without the other.

25 On conscious and unconscious models, see C. Lévi-Strauss, op.cit., pp. 308-310, and, for the Sherpas, B. Ortner, Sherpas through their rituals, Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems, 2, Cambridge University Press, 1978, passim.

26 References in Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal ...., pp. 75, 76, 79.

27 Confer, however, A. Höfer, The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal, A Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854, Innsbruck, Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1979, 1979, pp. 216-217.

28 H.A. Jäschke, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968, p. 601 and Desgodins et al., Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français, Hong Kong, 1899, p. 1075.

29 See Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Ethnographic Notes on the Tamang of Nepal', in Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. IX, No.3-4, p. 67. This is confirmed in the four manuscripts we have utilised in this paper.

30 See also Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'The Sherpas of the Khumbu Region', in Mount Everest; Formation, Population and Exploration of the Everest Region, Oxford University Press, London, 1963, p.144 and The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, London, John Murray, 1964, p. 19. For the four Sherpa proto-clans at the core of the theory of the Eighteen Sherpas, see the chart on p. 125 of M. Oppitz, Myths and Facts: Reconsidering some data concerning the clan history of the Sherpas, in Kailah, A Journal of Himalayan Studies, Vol. II, 2, Kathmandu, 1974, pp. 121-131. One might remark that in Sikkim too, among the Tibetan elements of Sikkimese society, we find four proto-clans known as the Stong-'dus rus-bzhi (the Tong-du ru-zi of H.H. Risley, The Gazetteer of Sikkim, Calcutta, 1894, p. 28, and J.F. Rock, 'Excerpts from a history of Sikkim', in Anthropos, 48, fasc. 5-6, Freiburg, 1953, p.929).

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A 20TH CENTURY RNYING-MA-PA LAMA[1]

The massive printing and reprinting of Tibetan texts which has taken place in India in recent years has opened up a whole new field of study for scholars throughout the world concerned with diverse aspects of Tibetan culture. At the same time, anthropological research in Nepal, Ladakh, to some extent in Sikkim, but not as yet in Bhutan, has widened our knowledge of the functioning of the Buddhist church in the southern borderlands of Tibetan culture. Some years ago David Snellgrove edited and translated into English four very interesting biographies of Tibetan lamas who lived and worked in the Dolpo area of Nepal between the 15th and 18th centuries. Further information on the activities of contemporary lamas is given in his book Himālayan Pilgrimage, in that of Corneille Jest on Dolpo, and in the recent work of Barbara Aziz on Dingri.[2] In addition Michael Aris has published in Tibetan the autobiographies of three Rnying-ma-pa lamas who were active between 1668 and 1767 in Kutang, in Northern Nepal.[3] However, Western-language translations or summaries of autobiographies of frontier lamas active in contemporary times are rare. So it may be of interest to draw attention to a short autobiography written by my teacher and collaborator the Sherpa lama Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin, and printed in Delhi in 1971. The biography covers 12½ pages of normal Tibetan format, having six lines on recto and verso, and is entitled Jo-glang gangs-rgyud shar-pa sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin gyi rnam-thar mdor-sdus sgro skur bral-ba'i bden-gtam. This might be translated as "Brief autobiography of the Sherpa Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin of the mountainous region of Everest: True words written without falling a prey to Eternalism or Nihilism."[4]

The Tibetan expression rnam-thar which I have translated here as "biography" and "autobiography," and which the dictionaries indicate as equivalent to the Sanskrit vimokṣa, can be rendered in English by a variety of paraphrases according to the context in which it is employed. It is interesting then to note how the author himself envisages the subject of his composition. He remarks that to begin with one might divide the summary of those of his acts directed towards his own emancipation and the good of others under three headings: 1) his birth, 2) his studies, and 3) his services to Buddhism. Again, these headings might be subdivided and the account developed so that first, concerning his birth, one would deal with the place and the country in which he was born, who his parents were, and the manner in which his birth occurred: this would make four sub-sections. Secondly, concerning his studies, one would deal with the places in which he studied, at what dates he

studied, to what branches of learning he addressed himself, and in what manner he carried out his studies: this would make four more sub-sections. Thirdly, concerning his usefulness to other Buddhists, one would state in what domain he rendered service, the volume of his contribution, its nature, and the needs to which it responded: and this would make four more sub-sections, in all twelve. Were one to develop these twelve sub-sections, each would need to be explicated firstly from the author's own point of view, then from the point of view of others, and finally the two points of view would have to be reconciled. However, by this triple multiplication, one would arrive at thirty-six sub-sections—altogether too many, so he decided to limit himself to a few indications, following the general plan only in outline.[5]

His birth took place in that of the Five Continents known to "Modern Science" as Asia. It occured among the animate beings of the holy kingdom of Nepal—to be precise, among the snowy mountains where is situated the highest summit in this world: Sagarmātha. The country in which he was born was Sholu-Khumbu, an area where religion and people are pure; and the site was Brag-mtho-sbug, where water, grass and wood abound.[6] As for the moment of birth, it took place in 1924 according to the system of dating in universal usage; in 1981 according to the Nepalese system; and in 897 according to the Tibetan system. It is said that his birth took place on the 10th day of the rising moon, the Fifth Hor month, a Monday, at dawn.

As for the father and mother from whom this body was born, the father was Zla-ba bstan-pa, the younger son of 'O-rgyan phur-pa who was himself the elder of two sons of Padma tshe-ring, an important man of Mi-nyag gdon family (rigs) and of the Grags-mtho clan (rus) of Gshongs-lung. His mother was Nyi-ma bu-khrid, the only daughter of the lama Zla-ba nor-bu, an important man of the Nyang family belonging to the Ser-pa clan, who was himself the elder son of the lama Sangs-rgyas bstan-pa of Gshongs-lung.[7]

In what manner was he born? Many favourable outer and inner omens being manifested simultaneously, it is said that the embryo was belted like a religious robe. Not only that, its surface was enclosed by sinews similar to kusha grass. As for himself, it is said that he was seated in an open, four-petalled lotus bloom, coming from the east from the far depths of a cloudless sky. He still clearly remembers coming flying with the flower; the scene remained particularly vivid to him, both in wakeful state and in dreams, up to the age of four or five. The birth-feast was celebrated with fervour and, in conformity with the conjunction of the planets, he was given the name of Zla-ba bstan-'dzin.[8]

Later he began his studies. From his fifth year onwards his father taught him the Tibetan alphabet, the vowels and the consonants, writing and the spelling out of words. He learned quickly

and, from the age of eight, he could write without tuition the Sdig-bshags, the Bzang-spyod and other texts in dbu-can.[9] He began to learn spoken and written Nepali when he was eleven, and this too without difficulty. At the age of seventeen, furnished with numerous gifts, he went to study with the lama Yon-tan rgya-mtsho at Gshongs-lung. From him he requested and obtained the dbang, lung and khrid of the principal religious texts current in the Gshongs-lung and Shar-Khum areas.[10] In addition he completed most of the retreats prescribed for the teachings he had received. At twenty, with his lama's permission and with gifts, he went to study with the lama Rtogs-ldan tshul-khrims at Steng-po-che.[11] There he learned to read and write Tibetan long-hand and followed the lama's teachings in vocabulary, grammar and arithmetic and on the Rgyal-sras lag-len so-bdun-ma.[12] One year later he took his vows of dge-tshul in the presence of the lama Sangs-rgyas chos-'phel,[13] from Tshul-bzang in the Rtsib-ri district of Tibet. He was given the religious name of Sangs-rgyas zla-ba since it was that of the local abbot. At twenty-two he settled down to study with Padma tshe-dbang, the rin-po-che of Stod Nya-dkar. At that period he studied the Dkon-mchog spyi-'dus,[14] the Sgrol-ma nyer-gcig[15] and the Khro nag-mo. He was given the dbang and lung of these texts and the khrid of the commentary on the Bde-smon by Rme-ba Chos-grags. He also studied sems-khrid, 'pho-ba, gcod and other meditational cycles.

At twenty-three he went to Lha-sa, visited Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs and Dga'-ldan, the two images of Jo-bo Shakyamuni,[17] and the Potala. He studied for a short while in Blo-gsal-gling college at 'Bras-spungs.[18] Then at twenty-four, in the face of many difficulties, he went to study in Khams. He went in stages by way of Chab-mdo to Sde-dge,[19] Rdzong-gsar,[20] Rdzogs-chen,[21] Lcham-mo ri-khrod, Zhe-chen[22] and Lchang-ma Sgar. The mkhan-po Thub-bstan snyan-grags, the mkhan-po Padma tshe-dbang, the mkhan-po Ngag-dbang nor-bu, the mkhan-po Gang-shar dbang-po, the mkhan-po Mdo-sngags Bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, the mkhan-po 'Jam-dpal rdo-rje, the mkhan-po Blo-gros rab-gsal, the mkhan-po Nyi-ma rgyal-lo, the mkhan-po Thub-bstan chos-'phel, the mkhan-po Lung-rtogs mthar-phyin, the mkhan-po Tshe-dbang nor bu, Dkon-mchog of Dpal-yul[23]—in front of these and other learned, reverend and good teachers, who shouldered the heavy responsibility of maintaining the Doctrine and explaining it to others, he studied lexicology, grammar, kāvya, the Amarakośa, astrology, logic and, in addition to the four common sciences of craftsmanship and healing, the Madhyamaka, the Pāramitā, the Vinaya, the Abhidharmakośa and the tantra. Having listened to these teachings he studied them with ardour and to the best of his ability. He followed with particular attention the teachings of the incarnation of the mental principle (thugs) of 'Jammgon Blo-gros mtha'-yas.[24] When he recalls this teacher's compassion and bounty, it is difficult for him to pronounce his name without tears. He bows deeply before the feet of him whose reputation is famous in the three worlds, his mūlaguru named Padma dri-med legs-pa'i blo-gros.[25] From him he obtained the dbang, lung and khrid of the religious teachings of the Snga-'gyur Gsung bka'-ma;[26]

the dbang, lung and khrid of the great Rin-chen gter-mdzod;[27] on two occasions, the dbang, lung and khrid of the Smin-grol gling 'Dod-jo bum-dzang;[28] the lung of the Bka'-'gyur the lung of the complete teachings of Rong zom-pa;[29] of the master Klong-chen and his pupil;[30] of the Smin-gros gling brothers;[31] of the two 'Jam-kong rnam-rgyal;[32] of Jigs-med Chos-kyi dbang-po, the incarnation of Dpal-spungs;[33] of the mkhan-po Kaḥ-thog, Nus-ldan;[34] of the mkhan-po of Sde-dge dgon-pa, Kun-dpal; the lung of the complete works of 'Jam-mgon Mi-pham rnam-rgyal.[35] Likewise, from the sixth embodiment (sku-phreng) of Zhe-chen, Kun-bzang Chos-kyi Nyi-ma, he solicited dbang and lung of the Klong-chen snying-thig[36] and of the Gsang-ba'i snying-thig.[37] From the fourth sku-phreng at Zhe-chen, 'Gyur-med Padma rdo-rje theg-mchog, he requested, on frequent occasions, the dbang and lung of the Bka'-ma Dong-sprugs.[38] Furthermore, he obtained from the incarnation of Rdzogs-chen, 'Ju-nyung sprul-sku, from Chos-kyi blo-gros of Rdzong-gsar and other incarnations and rin-po-ches all possible teachings on the sūtra and the tantra.[39]

At the age of twenty-nine, in accordance with the instructions of his teachers, he took the vows of dge-slong in front of the Smin-grol gling Gcung-sprul, Ngags-dbang Chos-grags rin-po-che, and obtained the khrid and lung, with oral explanations of the commentaries on the Gsang-ba'i snying-po,[40] the Bsang-bdag dgongs-rgyan[41] and the Zhal-lung.[42] Thus, with the help of numerous kalyāṇamitra from his own country and from Upper and Lower Tibet, he completed his religious studies to the best of his capacity, rounding them off by the three Means,[43] having undertaken difficult tasks without loss of faith and without yielding to pleasures. Then, thanks to the compassionate blessings of his lamas, he received a favourable omen. Once, he does not know how, in a dream which seemed to be true, the teacher Shākya-thub-pa, Rdo-rje sems-dpa', the master Padma byung-gnas, 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs, Spyan ras-gzigs, Sgrol-ma, Dbyangs-can-ma, Yeshes mtsho-rgyal, Bi-ma mitra,[44] Klong-chen rab-byams, 'Jam-mgon Mi-pham, along with other lamas, tutelary deities and ḍākinīs,[45] showed their faces to him, gave him instructions and made prophecies. In this dream, there came out from within his own heart a ray of sunlight, unbearable to look at. With his hand he threw up into the sky barley-flowers. These were all transformed into ring-bsrel, scattered everywhere and multiplied. From the summit of a peak of vaidurya there came forth a white cloud which did not darken the light of the sky; transparent, it spred out in the sky in a miraculous manner. Meanwhile, he himself felt at times that he was rising into the sky, at times sliding down into a great lake, at times climbing to the top of a mountain.[46] On a peak to the east the sun appeared innumerable times; he cannot describe it all.

Having finished his studies, in accordance with the prophecy of the gods and his lamas, he came back in his thirty-third year to his own country and, in order to spread the Doctrine and for the good of others, in the hope of starting to teach, he set up a temple with some statues, and began work. Little by little the

work was done, and after two years the building itself and some of the statues were completed.

Then in his thirty-fifth year, on the fourth day of the sixth month of the year Earth-Hog, he opened the school. He has taught each of his hundred or so pupils, according to their bent and their capabilities, to read and write Tibetan in dbu-can and dbu-med; he has taught vocabulary and grammar, prayers and instructions, the Rgyal-sras lag-len; the Spyod-'jug 'grel-ba,[47] the Dbu-ma rgyan-'grel;[48] the Sherphyin mngon-rtogs-rgyan-gyi 'grel-ba;[49] the Don rnam nges;[50] the Mkhas-'jug rtsa-ba;[51] the Mdo-rgyan 'grel-ba;[52] the Kun-bzang zhal-lung; the Bardo drug-khrid; the Sdom-gsum dpag-bsam snye-ma;[53] etc. He has countered local opposition to his teachings by clear arguments and by quotations. When it became necessary, he composed a dictionary, a grammar, prayers and school-books, mes-rabs and a chos-'byung as well as other bried compositions. He has explained these and continues to explain them for the profit of those who enter into religion. His viewpoint is not blemished by extremist theses. He has employed himself for the profit of others.

The monastery thus founded by Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin at Ser-log in 1959 is called Bshad-sgrub zung-'brel gling. In his autobiography the author does not go into detail about the difficulties encountered in setting up the monastery. However in the chos-'byung he enlarges on this theme, and since his remarks are pertinent to the understanding of his own life-history, I shall include some notice of them here.[54] Once he had started explaining the Vehicle of the sūtra and tantra, the possibility of hearing them and pondering on them existed. However, for this, living-quarters and a meeting-hall were necessities. Secondly, an indispensable minimum of clothes and food had to be obtained. Thirdly, for each pupil a series of books for study was necessary. Fourthly, if a learned abbot from another area was to be invited, there had to be a good reason for his coming. Even if these four basic necessities were met with, this in itself would not be satisfactory unless he could dispose of sufficient capital. A small sum would be of no use; he needed a large amount. Despite the presence in his homeland of pious and generous patrons, he could not obtain what was required. He realized that, in the circumstances, he could not bring his project to fruition; so he decided to go once again to Sde-dge, Zhe-chen and Rdzogs-chen, to those areas where there were many great and holy men in the Rdza-chu district of Mdo-khams in Lower Tibet, which is a fertile religious field; and so he set out once more. He was very frightened by the dangers which threatened his life on the way, meeting with the terrible forces of the powerful invaders from Red China. Wherever he went, there was neither food nor drink on arrival. However, treating with contempt whatever happened, he made his way through to the lamas who were behaving like Buddhas in human form. At that time the Red Chinese filled with their foul stench the east, the west and the centre of Tibet,

and religious men found themselves, as in the proverb, like living creatures held in the mouth of a great makara: it could not be otherwise. Nonetheless he explained to them the reasons for his coming, as sketched out above, in order to undertake fresh actions on behalf of the Doctrine and for the benefit of others. These great kalyāṇamitra, their hearts filled with desire to help others and strong in their religious convictions, were delighted. As the proverb has it, "When a learned father, on the point of going overseas, suddenly meets an intelligent son, both are equals in religion." When he had explained fully his case and his problems, they answered him forthwith that all he wanted should be done. Seeing that his ambition was to be fulfilled and that he could get all he longed for in his heart, he was happier than anyone can be. However, seeing how the misfortunes of this sad epoch were sweeping down upon the lamas as heat spreads from tongues of fire and as cold spreads from ice, he was filled at the same time with joy and sadness. As the proverb has it, "a very loving mother, on the point of leaving for a far-off country, will give to her son who knows her projects all he wants; but this son, once she has gone, will be more unhappy than he was previously happy." In like manner, even if the author's mūlagurus, full of sympathy as they were for his projects, had decreed that all he wanted should be given to him—just as a great king would give to his son as a marriage-portion several tens of horses, several hundred 'bri and g-yag, vessels of gold, silver and copper along with turquoise, corals and pearls, tea, silks, woollen and cotton cloths—the fact remained that the Red Chinese were in the process of wiping out the wealthy. Moreover even in the case of a poor pilgrim who was going to Lha-sa they were known to have passed a law forbidding him to carry with him more than 100 da-sgor.[55] To quote the proverb: "Once bitten by a poisonous snake one runs away from a multi-coloured string." Not only did the lamas themselves have doubts; our author too remembered that the Sugata had taught to his dge-tshul and dge-slong that one should not transgress civilian law. So, abandoning the question of riches, he simply asked for permission to return to his homeland. The lamas replied: "For the moment we can't do otherwise. Later, if conditions get better, you should come back again. So if you leave now, taking only what you need in the way of provisions for the journey, all should go well." Therefore, following his lama's instructions, taking with him only five loads containing books and money and abandoning the rest like riches perceived in a dream, he showed all he had to the rdzong-dpon of the Red Chinese, and requested and obtained a travel document. Using trucks and horses, he made his way and arrived back in his homeland without hindrance, thanks to the compassion of the lamas.

When he had assembled the material goods obtained, as related above, in his homeland together with those he had brought with him from Khams, the monastery at Ser-log was completed. However, not even one-hundredth part of what had been envisaged in the original plan was accomplished. This plan had provided for living-quarters for sixty monks, each to be quuipped with a mattress tables and

altars, grouped around the gtsug-lag-khang, and was based on the calculation that there would be fifty-three resident monks to whom rations, clothing and bedding would be provided. Inside the gtsug-lag-khang were to be the Three Supports which give great blessings as well as many fine offerings. In particular were envisaged a printing press for carving xylographs of the books of his own order; and all that was necessary in the way of facilities was to be offered to itinerant men of religion. Now, however, all this was merely words that had been pronounced, thoughts that had been in the mind. Nonetheless, thanks to his own diligence and to the compassion of his reverend lamas, he now had in hand something of what was needed and what he wanted, even if because of the unfortunate coincidence of his original plan with the invasion by the Red Chinese the riches of which he had dreamed were not translated into concrete reality. So, without abandoning his initial resolve, and thanks to the help of fortunate people from his own country and abroad, he has worked and continues to work for the benefit of the Doctrine and living creatures.

This biography seems to me significant on several counts. First, its simple but fairly detailed and factual account complements the kind of biographical detail one looks for in F.W. Funke, Religioses leben der Sherpa, and in Sherry B. Ortner, Sherpas through their rituals.[56] Secondly, we learn from it much about the training of a Rnying-ma-pa lama in our century, and what we discover leads us to understand that village lamas are by no means always simple people. Thirdly, it shows us what can still be accomplished, even in these days, by a man of stubborn courage and solid faith. Lastly, it is an interesting example of the Tibetan literary genre of rnam-thar, a genre which is very different in its aim and content from the western "warts-and-all" or "kitchen-sink" types of autobiography; Sang-rgyas bstan-'dzin would agree with 'Brug-pa kun-legs that to relate "how he ate this morning and how he defecated this evening"[57] would be of little significance. It is no doubt the necessary exemplarity of a Tibetan rnam-thar which accounts for the somewhat self-congratulatory tone employed by Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin. However this may be, it is always a moot point to what extent the true and individual character of an author is revealed in his autobiography, whatever the language employed.

Notes

1. I read a short paper on this topic at the second meeting of the International Association of Buddhist Studies at Nalanda in January, 1980. The intention of the present article is to provide the non-specialist reader with an example of how a contemporary lama envisages his own life-history. The footnotes

are not intended as a definitive plunge into the arcana of Tibetan bibliography; they aim to draw the reader's attention to some publications, knowledge of which helps to elucidate the text. I wish to thank my friends Pema Tsering, Helmut Eimer and Michael Aris for positive criticism and helpful advice.

2. D. Snellgrove, Four Lamas from Dolpo (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 2 vols., 1967); Himalayan Pilgrimage (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1961). C. Jest, Dolpo, Communautés de langue tibétaine du Népal (Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S., 1975); B. Aziz, Tibetan Frontier Families (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978).

3. M. Aris, Autobiographies of Three Spiritual Masters of Kutang. Lives of Padma don-grub, Padma dbang-'dus and Padma lhun-grub (O-rgyan bstan-'dzin) (Thimpu, Bhutan, 1979).

4. In my translation I have tried to convey something of the rnam-thar's flavour by retaining the author's own figures of speech and peculiarities of expression. The Tibetan text is to be found in Shar-pa'i Bla-ma Sangs-rgyas bstan-'dzin and Alexander W. Macdonald, Documents pour l'etude de la religion et de l'organisation social des Sherpa, I (Junbesi—Paris/Nanterre, 1971), fol. 1-13. Information on the circumstances in which the volume was composed is given in my article "The writing of Buddhist History in the Sherpa area of Nepal" in A.K. Narain (ed.), Studies in History of Buddhism (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 121-131. Some further passages from the same source have been summarized in A.W. Macdonald, "The Coming of Buddhism to the Sherpa area of Nepal," in Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hung., t. XXXIV (1-3) (Budapest, 1980), pp. 139-146. As S.C. Das, Dictionary, p. 336, indicates, sgroskur is an abbreviation for the expression sgro-'dogs-pas dang skur-pa 'debs-pa "decorating with feathers and casting abuse." However, to refrain from such excesses designates, in chos-skad, the Madhyamaka.

5. Tibetan rnam-thar are generally classified as phyi, nang and gsang, outer, inner and secret, a classification in which these three divisions often overlap. The reader will note that the biography we are concerned with conforms also, to some extent, with this pattern. As Gene Smith has pointed out, the Western term "biography" can also deal with matters related in Tibetan rtogs-brjod.

6. A small village on the main path from Kathmandu to Namche Bazaar, at the foot of the Junbesi side of the Lamjura la.

7. Gshongs-lung is Junbesi. Gshong-rong is Solu.

8. i.e., because he was born, as stated on a Monday: gza' zla-ba.

9. There seems to be no generally accepted English rendering of dbu-can: "copper-plate" never seems to have gained admittance. Dbu-can means, of course, "having the śirorekha, i.e., headline" and is contrasted to dbu-med, "cursive, i.e., without the headline."

10. i.e., in Solu, Pharak and Khumbu. On dbang, lung and khrid, see recently Tarthang Tulku Rinpoche, Foreword to H.V. Guenther, Kindly Bent to Ease Us, Part II (Emeryville: Dharma Press), pp. vii-viii.

11. In Khumbu.

12. The Thirty-Seven Points of the Practice of the Bodhisattva, a text composed by a Bka'-gdams-pa disciple of Bu-ston, Rgyal-sras thogs-med bzang-po, but accepted by all the Tibetan monastic orders.

13. Perhaps the "Ch'o zang lama" of Barbara Ariz, op. cit., p. 222.

14. On this cycle, discovered in Brag-lung in the 17th century by Las-phro gling-pa (1585-1656), see, for instance, David Snellgrove, Buddhist Himālaya (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1957), pp. 228-234, 249-258.

15. For the cult of the Twenty-One forms of Tārā in Tibet, see S. Beyer, The Cult of Tārā. Magic and Ritual in Tibet (Berkeley: University of California Press), passim.

16. Prayers for re-birth in the paradise of Bde-ba can (Sukhāvatī).

17. See A. Ferrari, Mk'yen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet (Rome: Is. M.E.O., 1958), pp. 39-40 and notes 39 and 46. Recently Hugh Richardson has published a useful article reconstituting the plan of the Jo-khang, "The Jo-khang, cathedral of Lha-sa" in Essais sur l'Art du Tibet (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1977), pp. 157-188. When I visited the Jo-khang in June, 1980, it was still very much the spiritual heart of Tibet. I was repeatedly told that the statue of Jo-bo which one sees today in the Jo-khang was one of the few statues not destroyed by the Red Guards during the 1967/68 troubles in Lha-sa. The great majority of the statues at present in the Jo-khang seem to be re-makes and copies (often very good ones) made on Chinese orders in 1973/74. Pilgrims from far-off Khams and Amdo still crowd into the Jo-khang daily to make their devotions in front of these statues; the scene is most impressive and I, personally, was convinced that if Lamaism, as a social force, is dead in Tibet, Buddhism, as a system of beliefs, still has a strong hold in the minds of the local population. I wish to thank the Academia Sinica of the Peoples Republic of China for their invitation, which made this visit possible.

18. Blo-gsal gling was visited by Prof. Tucci in 1949 (To Lhasa and Beyond, Rome: Liberia dello Stato, 1956, pp. 104-105). As I saw it in June, 1980, it is now only an empty husk of its former self. On 'Bras-spungs, see, recently, Geshe G. Lodro, Geschichte der Kloster Universitat Drepung mit einmen Abriss der Geistesgeschichte Tibets, I (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974).

19. On Sde-dge, see E. Teichman, Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 158-159; J. Kolmas, Prague Collection of Tibetan Prints from Derge, Part I, Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 36 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), p. 10 and A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge, Sde-dge rgyal-rabs (Prague, 1968), passim.

20. On Rdzong-gsar, see the references in D. Schuch, Tibestische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Gesammelte Werken des Koṅ-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XI, VI (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), Index, p. 327.

21. On Rdzogs-chen, see Gene Smith, Preface to The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang dpal-bzang, Late Abbot of Kah-thog Monastery (Gangtok, 1969), p. 7, n. 18 and Ringu Tulku, "Zog-chen gon-pa," in The Tibet Journal, I, N°3-4 (Dharamsala, 1976), p. 85-86.

22. On Zhe-chen, see Gene Smith, loc. cit., p. 7, n. 20.

23. There is a sketch, in which there figure several of the monastic foundations mentioned by our author in the previous sentence, in S. Kaschewsky and Pema Tsering, "Die Niederschlagung des Emporers von Nag-roṅ und andere Reminiszenzen des Dpal-sprul rin-po-che," in Zentralasiatische Studien, N° 7 (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasswitz, 1973), p. 445. Dpal-yul, as indicated in Helmut Eimer and Pema Tsering, "Abte und Lehrer von Kah-thog," Zentralasiatische Studien, N° 13 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), pp. 459-460, n. 7, lies to the south of Sde-dge dgon-chen.

24. The works of Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas are catalogued in the remarkable volume by D. Schuch quoted above in n. (20). The Introduction, p. XXV-XLVII, gives a most interesting account of Kong-sprul's life-history.

25. See the Introduction by Gene Smith to Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture, Parts I-3, edited by Lokesh Chandra in the Śata-piṭaka Series, vol. 80 (New Delhi, 1970), p. 76.

26. On Bka-'ma, see Eva Dargay, The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), pp. 13-14.

27. The Mtshur-phu edition of the Rin-chen gter-mdzod in sixty volumes was arranged by Kong-sprul Yon-tan rgya-mtsho alias Padma Gar-dbang. A reproduction, with additional texts from Dpal-spungs, numbering in all one hundred and eleven volumes, is in course of publication, since 1976, at Paro, Bhutan.

28. This is the Sgrub-thabs 'dod-jo bum-bzang, A Collection of Nyingmapa Sadhanas written by Gter-bdag gling-pa with the help of Smin-gling Lo-chen, Reproduced from the manuscript of Dorje Khandro by B. Jamyang Nor-bu, vol. 1-2 (New Delhi, 1972-73). There was also a Derge Dpal-spungs print.

29. On Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po, who lived in the 11th century, see Gene Smith, Preface quoted in n. (21) above, p.4, n. 7.

30. On Klong-chen Rab-'byams, Dri-ma 'od-zer (1308-1363), author of the Mdzod-bdun, see Gene Smith, Preface quoted in n. (21) above, p. 4 and n. 8 Sras refers to 'Jigs-med gling-pa. On the master and his pupil, see also Pema Tsering, "Tibetische Geschichten zur Erlauterung der Drei Forman des Glaubens (dad-pa gsum)," in Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Heft 2 (Reinbek, 1976), pp. 136-138.

31. On Smin-grol-gling, see Gene Smith, Preface quoted in n. (21) above, p. 6-7, n. 17. The brothers are Gter-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714) and Lo-chen Dharmaśri (1654-1717).

32. These are 'Jam-dbyans Mkhyen-brtse dbang-po and Kong-sprul rgya-mtsho, also known as Mkhyen-Kong rnam-gnyis.

33. This is Dpal-sprul O-rgyan Jigs-med dbang-po, on whom see, most recently, the article by Pema Tsering quoted in n. (30) above, p. 133-135 and 139.

34. For information on Kaḥ-thog, see Helmut Eimer and Pema Tsering, "Abte und Lehrer van Kaḥ-thog," in Zentralasiatischen Studien, N° 13, pp. 457-509.

35. The collected works of 'Jam-mgon Mi-pham rnam-rgyal (1846-1912) are catalogued in D. Schuh, Tibetische Handschriften..., XI, V, pp. 63-266.

36. The Klong-chen snying-thig is to be found in the seventh and eighth volumes of the Rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum of which the Sde-dge edition comprises twenty-six volumes. It was set down by 'Jigs-med Gling-pa (1730-1798) who was inspired to do so in a trance by Klong chen-po.

37. This might refer to D. Schuch, Tibetische Handschriften..., XI, VI, pp. 154-155, N° 131.

38. This is a text contained in the Rnying-ma'i rgyud-bum, pertaining to the category of the Gsang bka'-ma. According to the dkar-chag, it is also to be found in the section ca of the Bka'-ma.

39. The eighteen basic texts in the curriculum of Rnying-ma-pa lamas at Sdedge are listed in Helmut Eimer and Pema Tsering, loc. cit., paragraph 3.4.3, p. 487, n. 5.

40. On the Sanskrit text of the Gsang-ba'i snying-po, see G.N. Roerich, The Blue Annals, I (Calcutta, 1976), 2nd edition, pp. 103-104.

41. Commentary of the Gsang-ba'i snying-po. Several commentaries are listed in Lokesh Chandra, 'Les imprimeries tibétaines de Drepung, Derge et Pepung,' in the Journal Asiatique (Paris), 1961, p. 516.

42. That is: the Gsang-bdag zhal-lung and not the Kun-bzang bla-ma'i zhal-lung.

43. Giving, respecting, obeying.

44. On Bīma mitra, see, for instance Eva Dargay, op. cit., pp. 23-31.

45. Such visions, blending together at one point in space and making contemporaries in time of historical characters, divinities and goddesses, are also experienced by jhākris in the Himālayan area. They are not confined to Buddhists; the dramatis personae in a Hindu or a "tribal" vision will, of course, be different: but the divine assemblies who encourage and instruct are, in such cases also, composed of beings of different classes.

46. One is tempted to interpret these feelings as indicative of his power to move freely up and down the cosmic axis.

47. Tibetan commentaries on the Bodhicaryāvatāra are legion and they have not yet been catalogued in a definitive manner. For one aspect of the question, see Helmut Eimer, "Suvarṇadvīpa's 'Commentaries' on the Bodhicaryāvatāra," in Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus, Gedenkschrift fur Ludwig Alsdorf, edited by Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag), (the off-print bears no date), pp. 73-78.

48. A commentary on the Madhyamakālaṃkārakārikā of Sāntirakṣita. The indications furnished by our author do not permit precise identification of the editions referred to by him. However, it seems useful to draw attention to editions referred to in European catalogues. Confer D. Schuch, Tibetische Handschriften ..., XI, V, p. 107, N° 123.

49. A commentary on the Abhiṣamayālamkāra. Confer D. Schuch, ibid., p. 174, N° 187.

50. Confer D. Schuch, ibid., pp. 176-177, N° 190.

51. A text by Sakya-pandita.

52. A commentary on the Mahayānāsūtrālaṃkāranāmakārikā. Confer D. Schuch, ibid., p. 223, N° 236.

53. i.e. the Rang-bzhin rdzogs-pa chen-po'i lan-gyi cha-lag Sdom-pa gsum rnam-par nges-pa zhes-bya-ba'i bstan-bcos bzhugs-so of Sakya Pandita.

54. See Documents pour l'étude de la religion et de l'organisation sociale des Sherpa, I, fol. 111-116.

55. A large coin in usage in the Sining area.

56. Innsbruck and Munich, 1969, Universitats Verlag Wagner; and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978.

57. Quoted in R.A. Stein, Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, le Yogin (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982), p. 12.

A LITTLE-READ GUIDE TO THE HOLY PLACES OF NEPAL -PART II-

By

ALEXANDER MACDONALD AND DVAGS-PO RIN-PO-CHE

(translation by Vincanne Adams)

The Tibetan manuscript of the short dkar-chag which we translate here was published in Kailash, Vol. III no. 2, pp. 89-144 at Kathmandu. Since then, our friend Gene Smith has kindly sent us a recent Indian print of the same text, with pages numbered in western style 307 to 379, and without indication of the place of publication. At the time of its appearance in Kailash, this short text evoked considerable interest among readers of Tibetan culture. It seemed to us that this notebook, written by an 18th century lama should be made better known to Western readers also. The author, a devoted believer but with a critical mind, took information from many sources; and his notations are generally exact. Furthermore, his text is six times longer than the section of the 'Dzam-gliṅ chen-po'i rgyas-bshad, translated into English by our late colleague T.V. Wylie under the title A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal (Rome IsMEO, 1970). Our text is not yet dated; but from elsewhere we know that the author, the IVth Khams-sprul Rin-po-che, lived from 1730 to 1779. The Collected writings of the fourth Khams-sprul, Btsan-'dzin Chos-kyi Nyi-ma and his disciple Mkhas-sgrub Bsod-nams rab-'phel (vol. 7 of the Collected Works of the successive embodiments of the Khams-sprul) appeared at Palampur, India in 1978. Unfortunately, before writing the present article, we had no access to that publication.

The division into paragraphs is our own; and the annotation has been deliberately shortened. Certain points would demand, for their clarification, developments which would have imbalanced the presentation of this first translation; but we count on returning to these later. For now, let us note that Chos-Kyi Nyi-ma is not only a good observer of pre-Gorkha Nepal; reading him, one also understands better how a Tibetan envisions the processes by which Nepal had become, earlier on, Buddhist. Men and gods were, so to speak, riveted to one another at precise points on the surface of the Nepalese earth, not only by rituals but also by traditions, both Hindu and Buddhist. Perhaps many of these places were already sanctified in non-systemized rites before the historical coming of Hinduism and Buddhism. In the course of history, the names of these places, the sacred legends with which they were associated, changed. But, the same places often constituted "supports", singularly unshakeable, for the religious reflection of the inhabitants. These places constitute the veritable foundations of religious practices in Nepal.

Guide to the holy places of the great country Ñe-ba'i chandhoha Bal-po, called "Nectar for the Ears of the Land of Snows". Oṃ Svasti. I pay homage to the place where the Saṃbuddha was born, to the place where he attained Enlightenment, to the place where he turned the Wheel of Tranquility, to the place where he entered into Nirvana, to the places where he lived, to the places where he went, to the places where he stood, to the places where he slept in the position of the Lion (1). I salute the stūpa above, below and in the median space; at the cardinal points and in the intermediate directions, those which have a form and those which do not (2). I bow down in particular before the places with their sacred contents where the glorious Heruka in the company of Vajravarahi, in order to subdue Rudra and his consort, having issued forth a cloud of Dpa'-bo and of Dpa'-mo, subjugated them in the Mahāsukhāvati, and took possession of these places with his divine entourage; the Źin, the Ñe-źiṅ; the Thuṅ-gcod; the Ñe-ba'i thuṅ-gcod; the Dur-Khrod and the Ñe-ba'i dur-Khrod (3). Attracted by the force of hearing the description of the pleasant qualities of such places, I, Chos-kyi Ñi-ma, visited Ñe-ba'i chandho Naipāla, and in order to spread its description to Tibetan ears, I expose it, Garland of Light, sun on the eastern Peak. Moreover, as for the territory of this large country, Ñe-ba'i chandho'i ñe-ba'i thun-gčod Naipāla, here, in these important places, sacred from their origin, many dpa'-bo and dākiṇī have come together and in these same places, from one time to another, all desires are accomplished; and, as is taught in many of the sūtras and tantras of the Conqueror, at the limit one obtains the state of Buddha. These are places, there is no doubt, which were really tread underfoot by the great ascetic Bhagavan, object of the offerings of the gods and of all beings. Moreover, in ancient times, when the doctrine of the Buddha was largely diffused from generation to generation, beings who obtained siddhi as well as pandits established here uninterrupted lineages.

Today, too, the doctrine of the Buddha is not fragmented nor on the decline. Non-Buddhists, as is the case in certain countries of India, are not in fear of being submitted to the power of the cruel Ḍuruṣkas of Islam; and the king of this country, his ministers, and his subjects live in independence in their own country. Those who do not subscribe to a particular school of thought, as well as the Brahmans, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Sūdras and the outcastes (4), without confusion of jāt, make their ablutions, purify themselves in their rites, and apply themselves diligently to the task of paying homage to their gods. Again, as is the case in certain countries like Tibet, they make no offerings and do not place their confidence in the country gods, the earth masters, the-raṅ, rgyal-bsen, dre (5) and other minor spirits. The tenants of Buddhism pay homage to the triratna. They pronounce praises, make offerings, recite mantra and meditate on the maṇḍala of the Kriyā-tantra, the Caryā-tantra, the Yoga-tantra, and the Anuttara Yoga-tantra. While everyday, without interruption, like the men of former times, without severing the thread of the good tradition,

the practitioners of mantra, of their particular system when among other people in public reunions; the Tibetans, on the other hand, without reflecting, pronounce mantra, essences of the gods, such as Oṃ maṇi padme hum, etc. in a manner audible to all. When the Nepalese see this, they are very astonished by it. In short, secret mantra are kept secret and the Nepalese conform exactly to their own practices. Others devote themselves without respite to the practice of the Songs of the Vajra, to dances, offerings made by young girls, to festivals of dpa'-bo and dpa'-mo, to gaṇacakra (6), to the cult of fire, etc. Hindus make offerings to the very great gods: Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Parvatī, Gaṇapati, Gangā, etc. and never accord their confidence to the lesser 'dre and the hosts of the byuṅ-po (7).

The country is prosperous and many good conditions prevail there. If one considers the aspect of the country and its environment, it is a place where the people live without disputes and who know neither complaint nor suffering. Now, if we consider the limits of the country: it is surrounded by a net of dense forests where are to be found trees of numerous sorts whose trunks and branches are adorned with leaves, flowers and fruits. One the hills and mountains which surround them, live elephants, tigers, leopards, wild boars, black bears and buffalo. The aspect of the center of the country is similar to the palm of a hand. It is a place where a plain extends widely, without gorges or steep terrains. Displayed there are stūpas, temples, palaces of kings, villages, cities, markets, and parks. On the ablution ponds are found white and yellow flights of ducks, white and red lotus flowers; blue and white lotuses; etc. The four branches of the royal army are in post around the palaces (8). Furthermore, boys and girls there occupy themselves with singing, dancing and playing. There are horses broken in by men, elephants, buffalos, peacocks, etc. in quantity. In the lanes of all the towns and in the marketplaces are men of the east, the south and the west of India, all three, as well as Nepalese, Tibetans, Kashmiri, etc., men of several races and different languages; masses who come together like the clouds. The light which shines from the doors, portals and the open gold-worked threshholds of the royal homes, spreads throughout the surrounding area. The shutters of the windows, etc. are encrusted with ivory and, inside, there are parokeets and other small birds who imitate human speech and who find there their nourishment. The land is ornamented with many extraordinary forms, fixed and mobile, and it is flat like the palm of the hand. In brief, as the reverend Marpa (9), the great translator, said, "However, the fatigue is worth the effort; I've seen Nepal country of divine ancestry. One never tires of looking at these pleasures for the senses. I've asked myself if the inhabitants are little gods in the world of desire."

Starting from the center of this country rich in learning and within speaking distance, on the slopes of the holy hill of Glaṅ-ru, there are many pure and pretty elements. Different sorts of trees,

and climbing plants, such as Nāga Gesar, Tsampaka, Bakula, Piṣpala, Kobidara, Plakṣa, Kapitana, Tunna, Kubalaka, Aśvaka, Tālā, Tamāla (10) and others, are spread out. Night and day, everywhere, different sorts of birds sing pleasantly. Large and small monkeys and many wild animals are found there. There is also the flower called Tsampaka. Although it is generally said that the flower which is found normally in Tibet came originally from Nepal, what we call Tsampaka in reality is not the same. "Although the flower Tsampaka fades, one hundred ordinary flowers do not have its value", it is said. If one relies on its coloring and its fragrance, it is distinct; so compared to other flowers it must be particularly remarkable. Now the flower which we know in our day in Tibet, is known to have no fragrance, no particular color. That is why it is said in the Kāvyadarśa: "Dust of the Tsuta Tsampaka, even if one does not touch it, is welcome." And in the avadāna, Dpag-bsam Khri-śiṅ is written: "Petals of Tsampaka, shaken by the wind, when placed in a missive, give rise to affection, etc." (11) When one considers the real Tsampaka, one notes that the yellow flower emits to some distance a sweet smell.

Arguing from the identity of the name with that of the hill called Glaṅ-ru, it is considered that the great stūpa is the Go-ma Sa-la gandha. If one takes count of the observations in the sūtra, Glaṅ-ru luṅ-bstan (the Goṡrṅga-vyākarana-sūtra) this is clearly wrong. The statements of certain holy personnages who repeat old Tibetan traditions are subject to interpretation; but what they really think is that the hill Glaṅ-ru and the Go-ma Sa-la gandha are in Li-yul (12). At the present-day summit of the hill, there is a stūpa without a Lion Throne and without steps, etc., of Indian form. Above the base, there is the dome and on its summit a harmikā. At the time of restorations made in our day, the brass was covered over with gold; and the eyes which face the four directions have, the whites, in silver, the pupils in crystal, and the eyebrows of turquoise. On the circumference of the lotus, which supports the upper part, there are in groups of four, in each of the four directions, many statues, ornamented in gilded brass, the main one in each direction being the Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Maitreya and Guru Rin-po-che and in their entourages, Bodhisattva, Paṇḍita and Siddha. In the center, up above, are piled a series of thirteen dharmacakra or parasols the circumferences of which are covered in gilded copper. At the summit of this, there is a rain protector, a pointed ganjira (13). From the base which bears the weight, up to the top, the height is fifteen lengths of bowstrings. Formerly, here, there were steps and a Lion-Throne; but later on, it is said, Arhats hid them under the ground, from the dome downwards. That is the view of stupid Tibetans. The statues of the Five Dhyāni-Buddhas, which are installed on the four sides of the stūpa, are known to have been set up later by a queen, full of faith.

When giving a summary description of the sites; in order to facilitate the description of the monuments in their actual

localization, I will divide (my text) into sections starting from there towards the cardinal directions and the intermediate points; I will begin by the east and follow the direction of a pradakṣiṇā; and to explain the history I will divide it into two parts, of which, here is the first.

To the east and quite closer to the present stūpa, between two stūpas which are found to the right and to the left, down below the hill of Glaṅ-ru and rising towards the summit, is a very long stairway of stone. At its base, there is a stone statue of the Tathāgata and one of Mahākālā. At its top and in the center, there is a vajra of gold on a smooth base of gilded copper, the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara (14). To the east of the hills of the stūpa, at a half-day's walk, there is the stūpa Bya-ri kaṁ-śva, Gu-laṅ, Gotiśvara alias 'Phag-mo mṅal-chu, and rivers such as the Gsuṅ ldan-ma, the Skra can-ma (15) etc, flow there. Furthermore, when one moves progressively along the path to the east, there is the Garuḍa of Tsaṅ-khuṅ, the temple of the goddess Ugra-tārā, the grotto of the Manā Siddhas, the Ma-ṇi lohini, the natural stūpa of stone, the meditation-room and the statue of Nāgārjuna, the head of the king, the copper cooking-pot turned earthward, the fires and waters of the Kalpa, as they are called (16). Then, at a half-day's walk toward the East, there is Gñi-śaṅ kur-ti (17) and the palace of the king of the town of Kho-khom (Bhaktapur) (18). Further on, in a place at a half-day's horse-rise, there is the place where the Bodhisattva gave his body to a tigress.

Then, to the southeast of the great stūpa of Swayambhu, near Glaṅ-ru hill, is the śmaśāna (19) of Vajravārāhī with its temple. In the town of Kathmandu, with its royal dwelling, are the white Matsyendranāth (20), the Mahākāla of the Plain of Tibet, the temple of the vihāra called Stham. The stūpas erected by the king Aśoka are not far off (21). Next, if one goes a bit to the south, in the big town of Ye-raṅ (Patan) with its royal dwelling, there are the Lords A-kaṃ and Bhu-khaṃ (22), the copy of the Gandhola of the Vajrāsana, the temple of Gobi-candra with statues of Vajradhara and of Tārā, the temple of E, the temple of Huṃ Ka-ra, the Kau-mu-dī spring. Between these two towns is situated the great śmaśāna of Ramadoli.

Again, to the south of the stūpa of Swayambhu, and very close by, is Basupuri and, at the east side at the base of the stone stairway which rises to the summit of the Glaṅ-ru hill, there is a stone statue of the glorious Gaṇapati and the Temple of the "Pile of Rice". Inside this, there is a statue of a divinity and, in front of the door, a Buddhist stūpa with a Bodhi-tree. Then, in a place at one day's walk, there is Yaṅ-le śod; Rgya-gar Pham-thiṅ: the statue of the holy Naro-mkha' spyod-ma; the rocky cavern of the Asura; the lake Dkar Nag, called Dha-na da-ha; and the lakes inhabited by Karkoṭa, the kingof the Nāga, are very close on one side or the other.

Again, to the southwest of the stūpa of Swayambhu, and very near, is Bayapuri. And a little further away, on the hill of the "Pile of Barley" are found traces of the exhumation of a treasure of stones which was offered by the great and powerful auspicious gods to Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbaṅ Norbu (23), at the time of the restoration of the large stūpa, and a new spring.

Then, to the west of Glaṅ-ru hill, on the peak of Mañjuśrī, there is the Mañjuśri-stūpa and a small stone stūpa, along with the stūpa of Vasubandhu. Next, going towards the west, not far at all, on the summit known by the name of Mount Vindhya, there is a Buddha-Throne. At mid-height of the hill, there is the meditation-cave of Nāgārjuna, the traces of Mahe Saṅs-rgyas and the meditation-caves of the master Vasubandhu.

Then to the northwest, in front of and not far from the big stūpa of Swayambhu, there are stone statues, executed in a very pure style, of the Yakṣinī Hārītī and of the Tathāgata, standing. Furthermore, here are to be found many statues of divinities half Hindu and half Buddhist; and there are the temples of Agnipuri and of Śantapuri, which accord blessings. Very near also and to the north, in front of the large stūpa, is Nāgapuri and, at a certain distance, the so-called statue of Viṣṇu sleeping, known by the name Klu gan-rkyal, as well as two stūpas and the hill known as Rnal-'byor nam-mkha'. Furthermore, there are numerous liṅga and statues of Bhairava, etc. in all directions.

Secondly, following the schema given above, and for developing successively the comprehension of each point, there are many different interpretations of the Hindu and Buddhist doctrines. When one compares them, the names and the accounts diverge. Moreover, in the languages and pronunciations of the three countries India, Nepal and Tibet -- the names that one is given are deformed and the accounts are inaccurate. For these reasons, in writing these few notes, I myself have questioned some Indians and Nepalese about the accounts which diverge and I have incorporated here the oral traditions furnished by holy men, Siddha and very learned men of this country. First, relying on the oral tradition known to Tibetans concerning Phags-pa śiṅ-kun and which pretends that Bal-po is in Li-yul, that the stūpa is the Go-ma sa-la gandha, and that the stūpa was erected by the king Bi-pa de-wa, the significance of the name is explained by saying that it was Nāgarjuna who, scattering hairs from his head. expressed the wish: "May they take root in the form of all sorts of pure trees", hence the name 'Phags-pa śiṅ-kun (24). However, it is obvious that the two things, the present-day name and the account, do not concord. If one asks why (this is so), it is that present-day linguistic usage in India and Nepal must be made to agree with the story, and that does not work. As in general, in our day, Buddhists who are in Nepal do not know even bits of the story; there is no agreement. But yes, I think that's how it is. The venerable Great Paṇḍit Dharmākara (i.e. the Si-tu paṇ-chen) (25) does not teach that Bal-po is in Li-yul. For him, there are three

Li-yul. In the text of the Raṅ-byuṅ sṅon-rabs, adapted by this same authority, are to be found, at the beginning and at the end of the true sayings of the Bhagavan, some verses added by the Paṇḍita. According to this text, it is known that formerly, at the time of the Buddha Gtsug-tor can, stūpas appeared spontaneously, as is the case with the construction of many stūpas. That is why, in the case under discussion, its name is Swayambhu alias Raṅ-Byuṅ mchod-rten. The same stupa was called formerly in Newari Sihmaṅhgu. Little by little, the word was distorted. The Newars in our day say: Siṅgu de-wo. Tibetans, for their part, have changed it further and they call it Śiṅ-kun. That is why, basing their notions on the Nāgārjuna of 'Phags-pa śiṅ-kun and the inexact account explained beforehand, Tibetans have added 'Phags-pa. In the same order of ideas, this same country of Bal-po, when they explain that is was formerly a great lake, seven calling-distances wide, the Nepalese accounts and those of the Tibetans seem to agree. In the Dkar-chag, written in accordance with Tibetan oral traditions, Śāriputra (26) and Ānanda struck this same lake with their beggars' staffs to empty out the water, and the small amount of water which remained was emptied out by Gaṇapati in person. A rock in which Gaṇapati dissolved himself and which resembles an elephant, is to be found even today, according to the text, in the main temple at Patan. The Indian and Nepalese accounts explain that a crystal stūpa one cubit in size and having the form of a (toupet, tuft, forelock), imbedded with five sorts of jewels, with a lotus of one-thousand petals, on the antheres of which can be found the natural drawing of the Dharmadhātu, supporting the thought of the Tathāgata, appeared spontaneously from the lake, at the time of the Buddha Uṣṇīṣa. In the Tibetan accounts, the lake is called Go-ma dewi. In the treatises of India and Nepal, it is known under the name: The place of the Nāga (27). Concerning the manner in which this same lake was changed into earth: according to the old Tibetan accounts which we have enumerated above, the Indians say: "When humans lived 60,000 years, at the time when the Buddha Visvabhu came into this world, the incarnation of Ārya Manjuśrī of Wu-ta'i Shan in China, the vajrācārya 'Jam-pa'i lha, who possessed the five clairvoyances, and Mchog sbyin-ma, the incarnation of Skra can-ma, and Gzugs-thar sbyin-ma, the incarnation of Ñe-ba'i Skra can-ma, at the moment when they had gone at the same time to see the stūpa of the Dharmadhatu (28), reflected together: "This extraordinary stūpa, those who do not have extraordinary powers cannot, at this moment, go there. Once we have dried up the lake by the power of our karma, and transformed it into earth, all will be capable of really making, each in turn, salutations and offerings to the stūpa of the Dharmadhātu". With this aim, having left the mountain with a very sharp sword, and having made a way for the waters to flow out, in the space of four days and nights all the water of this great lake dried up. However, the remainder came together in a small lake: this is the unique lake called Mādhāra alias Kun-'dzin. In our day, Tibetans call this lake: Mtsho Ral-gri. The Nepalese call it Dhanādaha (29). It is explained that the plane where, in those

times, by the power of the great Vajrācārya, the lotus of natural, precious stone was transformed into earth for the realization of the stūpa of Svayambhu, is today this hill Śiṅ-kun. After that, this same hill was first called Padma-ri then Rdo-rje'i ri, Glaṅ-ru'i ri and Ri-bo glaṅ-mjug (30), etc.; and during the four epochs of the Satya Yuga, the Treta Yuga, the Dvāpara Yuga and the Kali Yuga, the name was bit by bit transformed, it is explained. Later still, after numerous years, when men lived 40,000 years, at the epoch when the Buddha Krakucchanda came into this world, the creation of villages and towns, etc. is mentioned. Then, when men lived 30,000 years, at the epoch when the Buddha Kanakamuni came into this world, at the temple of Vikramaśīla, a great savant, the dge-sloṅ Chos-dpal bses-gñen, explained the meaning of the Nāmasaṃgīti and taught it to others. However, as he did not understand the significance of the Twelve Letters, he could not explain it. So, to clear up his doubts on the subject, he prepared to go before the presence of Arya Mañjuśrī, on the Wu-ta'i Shan in China. At this time when he went to the mountain of Mañjuśrī, he became certain, in that place, that the Vajrācārya 'Jam-pa'i lha was really Mañjuśrī; he offered prayers to Mañjuśrī and, having transformed the stupa into a Vajradhatuvagīśvara mandala, he gave dbaṅ, explained the Nāmasaṃgītī tantra and revealed the secret teaching concerning the Twelve Letters. After that, the stūpa has been known as the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara. Then, a very long time later, when men lived 20,000 years, at the time where the Buddha Kaśyapa came into this world, this Vajrācārya called 'Jampa'i lha, having completed his task in rapport with this place, caused his aspects of a vajrācārya to disappear and, in a body of a god, rose like lightening to the sky and went again to the mountain Wu-ta'i Shan of Mañjuśrī. Next, at another epoch, appeared the king called Pracandra Dewa (31) alias Rab-tshim-lha, an incarnation of Vajrasattva; in the country of Gogoti in India. Wearied with happiness in the saṃsāra, he handed over royal power to his son called Śakti Deva alias Nus-pa'i lha and came (to Nepal). When he entered into religion in front of this stūpa, he took the appearance of Vajrasattva and the name of Vajrācārya Śāntaśri alias Ži-ba'i dpal; and in order to protect this same stūpa of Svayambhu, the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, he covered it over with dust which from the exterior, looked like the shape of the stūpa. He prayed to be himself installed in the heart of this spontaneously created support. The stūpa that Śāntaśrī, at that moment, erected, to manifest clearly the force of his magical power, in the very place where the Vajrācārya 'Jam-pa'i lha had stayed for a long time, is the same as that which is known today as the stūpa of Mañjuśrī (32). Furthermore, Śāntaśrī founded five "towns": Śantapuri alias Zi-ba'i groṅ (33), Basupuri alias Nor-gyi groṅ (34); Agnipuri alias Me'i groṅ (35); Nagapuri alias Klu-yi groṅ (36); Wayupuri alias Rluṅ-gi groṅ (37). In each, he caused to be installed one of the five gods of the earth, of the water, of the fire, of the wind (38). Throughout many long years in this country of Nepal the rains were regular, the grains ripened, etc., and the auspicious signs of happiness were numerous. Again, at another time, when, for seven years no rain had fallen and there

was a great famine, the king of Nepal, Guṇakāma dewa (39), alias Yon-tan 'dod-pa'i lha went to Śantapuri to the dwelling of the master Śāntasrī and asked him to make the rain fall. To do this, the latter summoned the Nāga and, at the end of the rites, he summoned by mantra the kings of the Nāga and forced them to make rain fall. That is why, misled by this story, Tibetans today say that the throne where Nāgārjuna convoked the Nāga is bere at Śantapuri. It is told that at that same moment the main stone of the rosary of Nāgārjuna appeared spontaneously as a Garuḍa; it is supposed to be the Garuḍa at present at Tsaṅ-khuṅ. There are many oral traditions which are false; and, if one takes this story for true, all of them break apart like a handful of sand. So, if one wishes to clearly understand the usual version, by consulting the dkar-chag of Śiṅ-kun, given to translate by the Si-tu paṇ-chen, generally speaking, there are three versions -- one developed, one shortened, and one mid-length. The version at present current in Tibet is the short version. I have heard that the fuller version is now in the hands of the Paṇ-chen Dharmākara (i.e. the Si-tu Paṇ-chen). The mid-length version in Sanskrit is in the hands of pandits of Nepal. It is also said that both the fuller version and the shorter version are to be found in a single form in the biography of the master Vāgīśvarakīrtī (40). However, concerning the master Vāgīśvarakīrtī, his name is that of one of the six learned dvārapāla of Magadha. Later, at the end of his life, he obtained a rainbow body. The place where he reposes today is this place. This site is also one of the group of five "towns" mentioned above. Concerning the two stūpas, which are situated a little to the East: certain people say that these are Hindu stūpas; and that, according to certain hidden prophesies, the presence of two statues which seem to have fangs in front of the Swayambhu stūpa of Nepal, is a terribly bad presage. I must say that I know nothing about this. Some say that the access room of this stūpa appears authentic and that the statues are Buddhist; despite the fact that the form is that of a stūpa of the heretics as, when seen from outside, it resembles copies of the Gandhola of Vajrāsana, it is a Buddhist stūpa. As there are many differences in the stories, they should be examined.

With regard to the stūpa Bya-ruṅ Kha-śor, in India and in Nepal there are no new accounts when compared to those which are current in Tibet (41). The name is Kha-śva caitya which is pronounced in a mixture of Newari and Tibetan. In several works of the great Vajracarya Mahāvidyādhārī, I have seen the spelling Bya-ri kaṃ śva ma. Generally speaking, in ancient times, after demolitions and losses, this stūpa was covered with dirt, sand, etc. to the point that it became invisible. When the moment for realizing the prophesies of Guru rin-po-che arrived, the holy reincarnation, the Yol-mo-pa Rig-'dzin Śākya bzaṅ-po, unearthed it, carried out with exactitude the repairs and restorations and made known its true worth. The name of the great stupa became once more as famous as that of the sun and the moon. Then, Śākya bzaṅ-po of Yol-mo and the third titulary of the lineage, the Yol-mo-pa Bstan 'dzin nor-bu,

explained that it is one of the group of eight stūpas, eight trees, and eight śmāśana as is the case of the Lhun-grub brtsegs-pa'i śmāśana (42). It is thought that the protectress who is in front of the stūpa, Puṣka dmar-ser, who takes intestines and eats them, is surely one of the eight Ma-mo (43). Lamas do not accept the tradition concerning their origin. However, if one consults a printed gter-ma, the dkar-chag of which is considered as containing the words pronounced by the great teacher (Padmasambhava), this is established; but I am not going to go into this question here.

At the center of the town of Gu-laṅ, there is Paśupati, alias Phyugs-bdag, a great natural Siva-liṅga with four faces and a temple which seems very big, covered by a canopy and filled with diverse objects of worship (44). On one side, there is an iron triśula more than two stories high. In two frightening places, here and at Gu-ti śva-ri (Guhyeṣori) are made bloody offerings. It is said that, formerly, the siddha Jalandharipa, manifesting his force by his magical power, shattered the liṅga into fragments. There is no doubt that this is the spot in question. However, in our day, it is covered with a profusion of many ornaments and no one is permitted to approach it. For this reason, we do not know whether or not there are breaks. It should be determined whether the natural support is really of the epoque which has been claimed, or if it appeared later. According to certain accounts, even in our day men fear being cursed by the siddha of former times. It is also said that, at a certain moment, a wooden stūpa was erected and installed there. In any case, as this is a very famous monument, each year, on certain dates of the month, numerous Indians come together here and make offerings, even today.

At the center of the three towns Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, in the midst of the twelve great rivers of the land, on the banks of the Gsuṅ ldan-ma alias Wak-mati, there is a place called in Sanskrit, Guhyaśvari alias Gsaṅ-ba'i dbaṅ-phyug (45). The pronunciation of the name has been deformed; and today Indians and Newars call it Gutiśvari. Tibetans designate it by the name of 'Phag-mo mnal-chu. Moreover, as was said, in general, by Rgyal-ba Yaṅ-dgon-pa (446): "When one asks if one site in particular is a holy place, the indispensible sign is the real presence of a ritual support in the form of a natural liṅga and of a yoni". According to the statements of several great learned men and siddhas who went there later on, there are, in this area of Badara, sixteen natural stūpas, twenty great liṅgas, twenty-four mūdrās of lotus, etc., and the important sites are numerous. As sure as smoke is the sign of fire, and water-birds the sign of water, there are, as signs of the sacred places of origin, the presence of the liṅga and the yoni. If one concentrates on the vanquished, here is the liṅga of Siva and the Yoni of Kālī. They are there. If one concentrates on the vanquishers, there is the liṅga of Heruka and the yoni of Vajrāvārahī. The reason why these are found in important places is because formerly, in the twenty-four countries, the terrible

Bhairava and the goddess Kālī, having each one produced and installed liṅga and mudrā of the lotus as supports, the glorious Heruka with his consort, their followers and their emanations, totally overcame them. At the time of the creation of the maṇḍala, these were blessed as supports of Heruka and his consort. Such natural supports are also to be found in our day in Tibet itself, for example, in the holy places of Mount Kailash (Kailāśa), Pretapuri, Caritra, etc. In this country of Nepal also, the essential supports created spontaneously in the famous Chandhoha, close to the great country, are two in number: Paśupati and Guhyeśvari. This is why, at the present time, Hindus, firmly attached to their own modes of thought, consider that these are the supports of the terrible couple of Śiva Śaktī and make their offerings there. And, we Buddhists, judging that the victorious subdued the defeated, make also offerings. Moreover, if one considers that Śiva etc., are grouped together in these places, and if one makes offerings there and if one takes refuge there, the refuge will be destroyed or, sometimes, certain of its aspects will be harmed.

If one wonders about the holy reputation of this famous place at Gutiśvari, as was exposed above several times, it is explained in the dkar-chag of the stūpa of Svayambhu either that this is a pleasant place where lives the king of the Dpa'-mo who live on the earth, with the head of a raven, and with his countless followers, or that this is the vulva of Vajrāvārāhī. In this place, there is a holy temple which looks new, maintained up till now each in turn by the kings of Kathmandu. On the door there is a garland of dried skulls; and on the outside there is a decoration of stone scuoputres of different gods, in Hindu style, and it is embellished with a lion. Inside, there are natural supports of stone. From the center, which has the form of a yoni, rises hot water which fills it to the rim. On top, covered later by an eight-petalled lotus of gilded copper, a small cover is raised up by the force of the water which rises. Also, in a spot close to this, there is a famous tree, which is one of the Eight Trees, and stone statues of the siddha Gau-rakṣa.

At the center of the big town which in Newari is called Tsaṅ-khuṅ, distorted by Tibetans into Sa-'go, there is a naturemade Garuḍa. According to the ancient tradition known to Tibetans, it was made with the principal grain of the rosary of Nāgārjuna. I explained above why this is inacceptable. Here is how things are in reality. According to the legend, widespread in India and Nepal, this support is supposed to be made of rubies. In reality, it is a statue of Garuḍa, mounted by Viṣṇu, which was created spontaneously. Furthermore, its name is Garuḍanārāyan alias Khyuṅ raṅ-byuṅ-gi nor-bu (47). In this country, in summer, in the middle of the rain clouds which clashed together, a Garuḍa really did come and remove a Nāga from the middle of a lake and eat it, in view of all. It is the same in our day, and when this happens, perspiration actually comes out from the image of the Garuḍa. After having wiped off the image with cloths, people fix them to their throats; then the sight of this statue protects them from the noxiousness

of the Naga. Firm in this belief, Indians, Nepalese, and Tibetans, all three, come from all parts to this place in order have a darśana, so great is its reputation. Last year, at the moment when a war broke out in Nepal, for fear that the image would be lost in going over to another king, it was brought to the royal home in Kathmandu. It is also said that another image was installed here in its stead. Be that as it may, the replica of Garuḍa, which is made of gilded copper, is covered over on the outside. The Newars consider the well, Śaṅ-kha da-ha, which is below this place, as sacred. Furthermore, it is said that formerly this Garuḍa and Śaṅkhapāla, the king of the Nāga, found themselves in disagreement; later on, they became friends, both of them, and they agreed to remain in the same place. The Newars call the lake in question "The place of the King of the Nāga, Śaṅkhapāla".

In the famous place of the Eighty Siddha, there are four or five pleasant rocky caverns. Although Tibetans say that this is the place where all eighty Siddha stayed (48) I do not doubt, for my part, that these great ascetic saints and sages, whose names are as well known as the sun or the moon, and who were equal in their action of spreading the Buddhist doctrine, came there, whether early or late, all eighty of them. But it is not certain that they came together at the same time nor that they formed a single residential group. Meanwhile, if we accept the oral tradition recorded by the pandit Abhayākara and the translator of Mi-ñag (49), it is not impossible that this is like the story of the king Kunji of Kantamara in the west. I had never heard previously the story of what happened in this place. There is there what is called the house of meditation of Nāgārajuna. There is a stone statue of the master himself; but at present it has been moved to some distance outside the grotto. The majority of the other caves are places where Śaṅkarācārya the adversary of Dharmakirtī stayed (50). I collected from Indians fragments of the history and of the biography of Saṅkarācārya concerning the time that he lived there. The principle support of the place is a fine house with a dome of gold and inside is the goddess Ugratārā (51) alias Ekajatī. Her body is red: she has one face and four hands. In the first two, she holds above her heart, a scimitar (axe) and a skull; and in the other two, a sword and an utpala. In the room above, there is a statue in alloy of Ugratārā with the face, the hands, and the attributes the same as (those described) above. She is standing with her left leg outstretched. To her right and left, there are what are called the head of Bintirāja and a copper cooking-pot overturned. I have of course herad stories about them from many Newars and Tibetans; but, as all are uncertain, I do not write them here. In the upper room is hung the loom of Khri-btsun, "the Nepalese wife" (of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po). In one house there is also a natural stūpa of stone. I don't know by whom, nor when these objects were installed. With regard to the goddess Ugratārā, both Hindus and Buddhists have, each according to his traditions, tantra and rituals for her. She is above all considered as the goddess of wisdom. As for Hindus, they make offerings to her with argham (52)

of blood. Here are to be found the fire and the water of the Kalpa.

At the top of the hill in the background, there is what is called the Māni Liṅga. The hill is called the "Pile of Jewels". Previously, on its summit, the Boddhisattva Nor-bu'i Gtsug meditated for a long time. One fine day, the jewel of his uṣṇiṣa separated from his sinciput; he made a gift of it and the jewel was spontaneously transformed into stone. Today, people call it the Māni liṅga alias Nor-bu mtshan pa. Not far from there, there flows a spring. It is said to have been mixed with blood at the period when the bodhisattva who made a gift of the precious stone of his uṣṇiṣa lived there. In our day, it is called Māni lohini alias Nor-bu dmar-ldan (53). If one holds a tsa-tsa before the face of a rocky cavern which is situated not far from there, it is pulled towards the rock face like a magnet attracts iron, I have heard.

As for Gñi-śaṅ kurti, this was a place for which the laughing reverend Vajra (Milarepa) had a prediliction, and where he converted the hunter Mgon-po rdo-rje (54). The marks of the deer are visible on the rock. The reputation of the Great Reverend is considerable even in Nepal where he is called Ha-sa Bajra. The Nepalese do not know his biography well; certain of his famous hymns have been translated into Sanskrit and they are recited. Newars call this place Wā-gi śva-ri.

As for Stag-mo lus-sbyin, the question of whether it is actually the place where occurred the events related in the jakata should be examined. If one accepts the version shared by the majority of people, at the moment when the Blessed One manifested himself as a Bodhisattva, a tigress was suffering from hunger. When she was on the point of eating her progeny, who were following her, immense compassion arose in him and he gave her his body as a gift. This stūpa is supposed to have been made with his hair and scattered bones, etc.. As people are very afraid of tigers, they do not pronounce the true name of this spot. Because of the need to protect oneself from danger, people pronounce the name of the Buddha: even in our day, men of all religions act in this way. All Nepalese call this place Na-mo Buddha. If one is looking for the road to go there, and if one asks where Stag-mo lus-sbyin is, no one will understand. If one asks where Na-mo Buddhaya is, they will understand (55).

Vajravarāhī śmaśāna, is especially a place where one acquires siddhi (56). It is also a large, terrifying śmaśāna. In the daytime, vultures and birds of prey hover there in circles; and at nighttime, the yelping of jackals is heard. In the center, inside a well-built temple, the main statue is that

of the blessed reverend Vidyadhārī, Rnam-par rtsen-ma. The right hand, as is the right foot, is stretched out and holds a vajra. The left (hand) is passed below the bend of the leg and holds a lotus; and the khaṭvāṅga is on the shoulder. The body of the statue in alloy is in the posture of takingoff skywards and it has a very great power of benediction. It is certain that this is the tutelary divinity of the master Maitripa. People ask themselves if she became the personal support of Rgyar-gar Phyag-na (57) and Stoṅ-ñid tiṅ-'dzin. In any case, the statue being one with the Body of Wisdom, the expression on its face in the eyes of the faithful, can manifest a smile, anger, attachment and contentment and the glance of its three eyes at times outshine the light of the sun and of the moon; by speaking, it makes prophesies and is the source of many extraordinary manifestations. To her right and left there is Ardhvapada Vārāhi, one foot extended on the world of Brahma and the other crushing Śiva and his consort on the earth of Suvarṇabhumi. The attributes are the same as those of the statue of alloy mentioned above. There is also a statue in alloy in the usual form of Vajravārāhī, with two faces. The three statues are of a height of more than two cubits. In the background to the left, there is the Vajrayoginī known in Tibet under the name of Nā-ro mkha'-spyod-ma (58), in the form of a statue of alloy, seated in the style of Cakreśvari. She is of the size of a young girl twelve years old. In truth, I do not know who made these statues; I do not know their history and I know only that they have the power of benediction.

The lord 'Ja'-ma-li dkar-po (Seto Matsyendranāth) is one of the group of the five holy brothers. Concerning the divine nature of the five brothers, although it's a case of Avalokiteśvara, the color of the bodies of the two Lords who are installed at Patan is red, while this one here is white. Some people who ask themselves if 'Ja'-ma-li is Mañjughoṣa are mistaken. Generally, Tibetans did not allow me to enter the temples of these three Lords (59); and I dind't succeed in learning how the faces are, the hands, etc. The faces which I actually saw were covered over on the outside by masks.

With regard to the Mahākāla of the Plain of Tibet, certain people claim that it was created spontaneously. Others say that the Master Nāgārjuna erected 108 statues of the "Great Black One" and installed them as protectors of holy places, such as the Vajrāsana, and of the Doctrine in general, and that this statue was erected as protector of the great stupa of Svayambhu, and that Nāgārjuna made it with his own hands. In any case, people praise very highly the blessings derived from it, and it is very well made. The main divinity, the Mūlapāla, is a statue in black stone: it has one face and two hands with which it holds to its heart a skull filled with blood and a scimitar. A khaṭvāṅga is posed on the shoulder and the feet are flat. The divinity treads on a dead body. In former times, at one particular moment, an army of Musulmans arrived in this country and prepared to destroy this statue. Not only could they not destroy it but, even today, the doctrine of Islam has not been introduced throughout the country of Nepal. However, on that occasion, several

bits of the support of the dead body and some fragments of the statue also, the tip of the nose, etc., were broken into peices. The statue has its face turned toward the great stūpa of Svayambhu. The townships, which were previously situated in the direction in which the statue glares ferociously, suffered diverse misfortunes and it is said that the area became empty: nowadays there are no more townships. In days gone by, this statue is said to have been installed on the hill called Phulla-ṭo (Phulchowki) near Patan and to have been transported through the sky to the "The Plain of Tibet". As for this "Plain of Tibet", formerly, at the time of the Dharmarāja Sroṅ-bstan sgam-po, the minister 'Gar, etc., and the envoys, stayed here; and as this is the place where the king Amśuvarman offered his dowry to his daughter, "the Nepalese wife", Khri-btsun, it is known as "The Plain of Tibet" (60).

Stham bihāra was established formerly by the reverend master, the glorious Atīśa (61). Later on, the pandit Bibhuti-candra lived there for a long time as abbott. He gave detailed lessons and the number of monks there augmented without cease. It is in this place also that he received the instructions relative to the Saḍaṅga Yoga of the close lineage of Śa-wa-ri dbaṅ-phyug (62). Later on, the great pandit Vanaratna stayed there also for a short while (63). At present in the sanctuary there are many Buddhist statues to which offerings are made. In the upper room, there is an Indian book, written in gold, a volume in Lantsa writing, of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñaparamita. In the dkar-chag, due to Tibetans, it is written that the book is the very one brought back by the master Nāgārjuna from the country of the Nāgas: but that is not certain. I think that it must be from about the time of Bibhuti. There is no doubt that the stūpa is one of several thousands of stūpas erected by the Dharmarāja Asoka, and contains relics of the Tathāgata. It is to be found in the house of the Vajrācārya Samantabhadra, who is the master of the Buddhist Gurba (64) of the town of Kathmandu.

As was explained above concerning the celebrity of the Lords A-kaṃ and Bhu-khaṃ, although the essence of the gods is Avalokiteśvara, as, apart from the steward, no one has access to the interior, one cannot examine clearly the faces, the hands, the postures, the attributes, etc. But in both cases the statues are in standing posture. According to certain Tibetan dkar-chag which record Nepalese traditions, from the breast a light the size of a worm ('bu) came out of the lord A-kham and from this was born the Lord 'Bu-kham. I have not verified if what is written is exact. Even if this story is true, the Newars do not speak of 'Bu-kham. Even if the expression is Tibetan, it is without rhyme or reason. Identifications of this sort are the result of stupid statements made by certain Tibetans. Generally, speaking because of the compassion manifested by these two Lords, the kings of Patan, one after another, have shown themselves respectful of the doctrines of the Hindus; and they are obliged to make offerings in the first place to Ārya Lokeśvara. Furthermore, the kings of the three towns, succeeded each other from generation

to generation and, as they were usually respectful of Hinduism, they could not reject those who in like manner shared respect towards Buddhism and the Triratna. It is said that they are afraid of transgressing the firm vow to behave thus, decreed formerly by the great master Padmasaṃbhava. The Buddhist Gurpa and the notables were unanimous about this. Moreover, in the Patan area, whatever be their doctrine, Hindus and Buddhists often put up statues of Ārya Lokeśvara Even the present kings, afraid of the noxious activity of a king of Patan of former times who was reincarnated, long after the death of the king, as a spirit, mint coins with the name of this king; and on the reverse side (of the coins), as an antidote, they print the name of the Lord A-kaṃ. Even today, many coins of this sort come from Patan. Furthermore, on the outer veranda, in front of the statue of Ārya A-khaṃ, at the top of the column of a stūpa, there is a representation of the Mahārāja, made in gilded copper and in a respectful attitude. It is also said that it was made (formerly) by a king of Patan. Be that as it may, in Nepal today, the kings, the brahmans and the majority of the people all show themselves respectful of the doctrines of the Hindus; and although they are as numerous as the stars in the sky, the compassion of the three Lords and Brothers shines like the sun and the moon and by its radiance outshines all else.

As for the copy of the Gandhola of Vajrāsana, at a time when one of the brahmanical ancestors of the famous brahmin of our day, the pandit Rāmānanda, was rich and powerful, he himself went to the Vajrāsana in Magadha. On his return, he had made a copy of this Gandhola. He installed there, as at Mahābodhi, a stone statue of the Buddha, which is a source of blessings and which he himself had brought back from the Vajrāsana (65).

As for the temple of Gobicandra the second time that the great pandit Vanaratna went to Tibet, when he came again to Nepal the king of Patan offered him a lodging for the night. From that moment on, until the instant when his body was emancipated from sadness (i.e. he died), it is here that he lived. The great pandit had planned to set up a statue of his own lama Saṅs-rgyas dbyaṅs at the Vajrāsana. Being unable to carry out this project (66), he installed in its stead a golden statue of Vajradhara, five spans in height. At its back, embossed on the throne, is the lineage of the lamas of the Saḍaṅga-Yoga; and, to the right and left of the statue stand two statues, one of 'Jam-dpal grags-pa, the other of Paḍma dkar-po. At the time of their consecration, in the sky could be seen a great maṇḍala, pure and without obscurities. When people wondered. "What is this?" a voice replied, "The Niṣpanna maṇḍala". It is told that he seemed really to merge into this support. That is why, because of the significance of this great manifestation of benediction, meetings are held yearly of ten days' duration, in a large festival of offerings. Most of the people in the country come here for a darśana. All say: "Bajra-dha-ra ma-ha bi-citra": and seem in a state of wonder Here is what is written in the biography: "Having seen that it was of

good augury to accomplish good for other beings, he made a particularly beautiful statue in gold of the reverand Tārā with many ornaments which was slightly smaller than the statue of Vajradhara mentioned above. At the instant of its consecration, the statue appeared to him as Tārā in person and a sound of laughter came from it, filling the Three Worlds. If one asks oneself what was said, know that it was this: "Bho-bho kul-la pu-tra. Your good doing for others does not depend on others; those who in reality let themselves be guided by you will obtain, after seven generations, as recompense for their prayers, a good destiny. Those who have had links with the Way will have good luck. For this reason, once they have seen my form here, beings will not fall into the three bad rebirths. My form here will work in future in this country for the Buddha. She really said this. As soon as one sees this statue, one's mind changes. Although this is written in the biography of the grand pandit (Vanaratna), since I am not very well acquainted with the king of Patan and the people, I must admit I have never had the chance to have a darśana (of the statue). During his long stay in the country of Nepal, this great pandit Vanaratna settled first at Śāntapuri and really obtained the experience of the sahaja-jnana (67). He met the master Vāgīśvarakīrti. Śrī Śa-ya-ri dbaṅ-phyug also, when he stayed here and there in Nepal, at Śāntapuri and at the temple of Gobicandra, met him on several, occasions and taught him the Saḍaṅga-Yoga of the close lineage and defeated the master (god) of the place Harisiddha. Later, when he died, his remains were burned in the śmaśāna called Ramadoli (68) which lies between Kathmandu and Patan; the Nepal valley śmaśāna, which is still in use is also called Ramadoli, I am told.

As for the temple of E bihāra (69): it is known as the temple of E. It is here that took place the story to be found in several rediscovered thaṅ-yig which describe how the great master Padma byuṅ-gnas showed Hell to the Nepalese Ku-sa-li.

The well of Kau-mu-di: Buddhists do not even know its name. They do not consider it a sacred place. Hindus consider it an important place. I have certainly heard oral traditions concerning its history. Considering them unimportant, I did not note them down, and, as it is not essential, I do not mention them here.

Basupuri: the Vajrācārya Śāntaśrī had installed here the god of wealth and the name of this place is Nor-gyi gron. At the foot of two long stone stairways to the south and to the east, are stone statues of Mahākāla and of Gaṇapati. Although they play the roles of protectors, I do not know who erected them. According to Tibetans there are Gṛdhrakūtas in two places, one in this country and another at Kusinagar in India. Only the name is the same. This is not this place where the Prajnāpāramitā (was pronounced). The reason for this is that the royal capital Gṛdhrakūta is certainly in Magadha, as shown by the intinerary to the Vajrāsana (the text of Dharmasvāmin?) (70), and other texts. The Tibetan way of pronouncing the name is not known in India or in Nepal. However, there is today, in this place a temple which is under the authority of Kathmandu. There are beautiful

Buddhist statues and fine supports. Newar the door at the center of a Buddhist stūpa grows the Bodhi tree, Byaṅ-chub joṅ-śiṅ. Such places have great powers of benediction. In the temple, the reverend Karmapas- both the Red Hat and the Black Hat-the Rin-po-che of Bhutan (Ñag dbaṅ rnam-rgyal), the omniscient Si-tu, Tshe-dbaṅ nor-bu of Kah-thog, etc. and, at later periods, other lamas of Tibet, have also treated it, one after another, as a favorite place. Whatever the length of their stay in Nepal, they lived here. That is why its name in Nepali is Kiṃ-ṭo (71) alias 'Bras-spuṅs. In our time, when restoration was carried out at Svayambhu, a stone quarry was discovered and a new spring burst forth. There is also Tsho-ṭo alias Nas-spuṅs and, in another direction, O'-ṭo alias So-ba spuṅs-pa. Among the three, it is this one here which is 'Bras-spuṅs.

Yaṅ-le śod in Nepal Valley (72). As well as they know the wind, all the people of Tibet, land of snows, whether educated or ignorant, know this place as the place of the great master Padmasaṃbhava. In Nepal also, those who are Buddhists identify it, as do Tibetans, as the place of the Vajrācārya Padmākara of Oḍiyāna. As for Hindus, they affirm that in this place are also found both Śeṣanārand alias Klu Lḥag-ma-can and Viṣṇu. However, to summarise the history of the links of this place with Buddhist doctrine: at the moment when the great master Padma byuṅ-gnas was himself living in meditation in this place, many poisonous snakes came down towards him, by the magic power of the Nāga, (with the intent of harming) him. The master aimed at them and threw the vajrakīla at the heads of the Nāga. They were transformed into stone. Even today, the outline of many of the serpents who hurry downwards is visible on the rock up above. There is the mark of the phur-bu on the head of the serpent in the middle and from it, at certain festivals, according to what the Buddhist Gurpa say, water seaps out. Although I have heard many stories from Hindus about their traditions, I don't remember them. However, concerning the water coming out from the trace left by the phur-bu, Kaḥ-thog affirms that the Nepalese say this is related to the cow who fulfills desires (73), mentioned in the oral version of the Rāmāyaṇa which tells, among stories of the Ten Avatars, that of Parasurāma alias Dgra-sta.

The place known as Rgya-gar pham-thiṅ: This is the dwelling of the king of the Nāgas, Lhag-ma can alias Śeṣa who, it is claimed, supports the world on his head. Although in stories of learned men of previous generations he is famous as Pha-na thiṅgu alias Gdeṅs-ka dgu-pa, the name has been deformed to Pham-thiṅ. This is also the birthplace of the Pham-thiṅ-pa brothers (74), spiritual sons of the glorious Nāropa, and the place where the reverend Marpa stayed for a long while. At the center of this locale, in a temple covered by a roof with a large dome of gold, there is a very ferocious statue of Bhi-ma-sena alias 'Jigs-sde.

Today at Yan-le-śod itself, it one looks through the crack in a paṭa at the side of the Hindu temple, one sees all there is inside. The steward opens the door once a day. In the interior, there is in

particular a support of the Nāga Śe-ṣa, made of stone. Its name is Śe-ṣa ṇārāna (75), and offerings are made there. Moreover, all people of the surrounding area come there every day to make offerings at dawn. During festival times, there is a custom of decorating with many ornaments the nine golden heads and the tails of the snakes. Outside the door of the temple is a stone statue sculptured of Viṣṇu's incarnation asking Bali for land. This is why both Hindus and Buddhists consider this to be a holy place. In particular, according to the Rñiṅ-ma-pa tantrists, when the great master Padma byuṅ-gnas arrived previously in the cemetaries and was wandering there, Vajravārāhi gave him an initiation: he became vidyādhara of the Vajra body, and overcame the obstacle of the Aggregates. When at the rocky cavern of Ma-ra-ti-kar, he became vidyādhara of immortality, and overcame the obstacle of death. At Yaṅ-le-sod he became vidyādhara of the Mahāmudrā and overcame the obstacle of the passions. At the glorious Vajrāsana, he became vidyādhara of the co-emergence and subjugated the demons of the sons of the gods. As this is the place where the master himself became vidyādhara of the Mahāmudrā -- among the four vidyā mentioned above -- it is equal in importance, according to the modes of thinking of Rñiṅ-ma-pa tantrists, to the Vajrāsana. I have heard Rig-'dzin Kaḥ-thog-pa praise it in these terms. In this same place, there is the lake called Dkar Nag which seems full of springwater (76). Usually, it is considered as a holy lake. Not having heard how it is, I don't know whether this is so.

Again in a place near the town of Rgya-gar pham-thiṅ, there is, in a temple, a statue of Vajrayoginī. She is represented in the aspect of Indra mkha' spyod-ma. However, the color of the statue should be white and this one here is red. Also, even if it was made during the time of Pham-thiṅ-pa himself, it has been renovated since. I have heard from Dpal 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che that it was consecrated by a Buddhist Vajrācārya. Then, concerning the rocky cavern of the Asura, in the rites of the Rñiṅ-ma-pa tantrists, at the moment when the divinities are reminded of their promises to protect the religion, these words are said:

"On this side of the country of India,
On that side of the country of Nepal
in the rocky cavern of the Asura,
the master Padma byuṅ-gnas and
Glaṅ-chen Dpal-gyi Seṅge
on the "cushion" where great enemies are reconciled
spread out an offering of an argham of blood
and taking the vajra in their hands gave
each other initiation, told each other their secret names
and took their places in the ranks of Vajradhara"

This is the place where the Twelve Bstan-ma (77) protectresses of Tibet, were bound by vows. Besides, many of the great Siddha who went in former times to India, to Nepal and to Tibet, have left there signs of their passage and made gaṇacakra, etc. there. Generally speaking, one could say this is the place. Nevertheless, it is said

to be one or two days distant from the Indo-Nepalese frontier. I have heard it said that Dpal 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che used to say that as the Sura are the Lha and the Asura the Lha ma-yin, the path to the countries of the Lha-men should become clear to Vidyādhara at this point. As for the Hindus, they say its a place where Viṣṇu dwells. However, in the interior of the small cave which is like a cleft in the rock, there are no statues whatever nor supports of the gods. On a rock in front of the door, are carved the two feet of Viṣṇu, his wheel, his sword and his full set of attributes. In a dkar-chag of places in Nepal such as Siṅ-kun, etc., the pupil of Rje Raṅ rig-pa, Ṅag-dbaṅ rdo-rje, from the country of Nas, compiled old Tibetan oral traditions; and it is written there that in a place one day's walk to the southwest of (the grotto of the Aśura) there is a spring of Bodhisattva Amṛta. Since it is mentioned, it exists. But I have not found where it is, and I did not go there.

The lake Ral-gri: this is where is the remains of the lake from where the Vajrācārya 'Jam-pa'i lha caused to flow out the waters which formerly filled up the whole of Nepal. It is said to be the place where Karkoṭa, the king of the Nāgas, swells.

Wayupuri: as this is the place where Śāntaśrī bound by a vow the god of the wind who was living here, it is called Waya-puri alias Rluṅ-gi groṅ. According to the Tibetan dkar-chag, it is also the dwelling place of Binayaka. There are here traces of bloody offerings made by Nepalese.

The hill called "Pile of Barley": it does not have the reputation of being very important. At the time when the big stūpa was being restored, stones appeared where there had been previously none, along with a spring, and everyone was astonished. I have heard it said that there really were many auspicious signs on that occasion.

The stūpa Mañjuśrī: following the explanations furnished above, there is very close to there a small stone stūpa which Tibetans call the second Siṅ-kuṅ. I do not know exactly its origin.

The stūpa of Vasubandhu (78): among the famous Six Ornaments of the World, the younger brother of Ārya Asaṅga, the great master Vasubandhu, in person, having completed his task of spreading the Doctrine in India went, surrounded by a thousand disciples, to Nepal. He established there many religious foundations and caused the number of monks to increase enormously. Having, on one occasion, seen a layman who was wearing the robes of a bhikṣu and ploughing a field, he was saddened by this: and, as he had power over life and mantra, he repeated three times backwards the dhāraṇi of Uṣṇisavijayā and died on the spot. The stūpa which was later set up by his pupils is this one. However, as this master lived at the same epoch as Lha-tho thori gñan-btsan who introduced Buddhism to Tibet, I think that the stūpa must have been restored several times since then.

Concerning the Mount Vindhya, the name was doubtless given to it

by Tibetans. As the name is a mirror of (peoples') imagination, there is no contradiction in this designation. Since the vertiable mount Vindhya is in the south, if any one thinks that it is this one, he is in error. In Newari, it is called Dzā-ma-tsho: I don't know what this represents in Tibetan. At the summit of this Mount, there is a throne of piled up-stones. It is known as "The Buddha seat". Whether it is or is not, between the two opinions, one cannot decide. For my own part, since it is certain that the Buddha has left traces of his passage in this country, I went there to look. In front of the seat, there is a platform of stone. After the burning in the grave-yard of most of the Newar dead, bones from individual skulls are ground down on the survace of this stone-platform and the powdered bones are offered to the wind. If they rise up, the deceased will get a good rebirth; if they fall downwards it is a sign, it is said, that the deceased has gone to Hell. The use of these prognostics is still current practice. In one direction, in front of this hill, in the middle of a dense grove, there is a cave of Nāgārjuna. In this pleasant place, there are two stone statues, one of Sākya thub-pa, the other of Nāgārjuna. Near there, are what the Tibetans call the traces of Ma-ha Saṅs-rgyas. All come to visit this place while on pilgrimage. When one asks the Nepalese for its history they say that, in former times, when the master Nāgārjuna was living in this grotto, there was an ignorant buffalo-herder from Kathmandu who had firm faith in the Master, and who came constantly to meet him and make offerings to him of curd, milk, etc. One fine day, when he invited the master to come into town, the latter did not accept and said to him: "If you can meditate on truth (emptiness), stay here". When he practiced (doing so), because he was so used to looking after buffalo, he thought constantly about buffalo. The master said to him: "Meditate that you are yourself a buffalo". So it happened, when he was meditating in the cavern which is today called Ma-he Saṅs-rgyas śul (79), that after some time he actually became a buffalo. In the cave there are now some traces of horns and hooves. The master said further: "Meditate on your real body". When he meditated in this manner, his body became as it was beforehand. Comprehending that he had acute capabilities, the master gave him initiations and instructions which he followed; it is told that his body itself went through the roof of the cave and that he rose up in to the sky. In this place, there are hoof marks and traces of the penetration of the grotto which are still clear. Near there, there is the rocky cavern, a very pleasant place, known as the place where the great master Vasubandhu stayed. Inside it, in particular, is the statue of the teacher Buddha, made in stone and twice natural size, as well as statues which seem to be those of Hindu divinities. The statue of the Yakṣinī Hārītī (80) has been there for a long time. Although Hindus and Buddhists both make offerings there, I don't know with certainty since when it exists nor by whom it was erected. The Tibetans say that, as it is an image of a yakṣinī, they think it is of little importance; but I have noted their scorn for those who do not visit it or make offerings there. This is the consequence of ignorance and lack of instruction. Although it is not an object of refuge comparable to representations of Buddhas, of Bodhisattvas, of

lamas, of tutelary divinities, etc., not only are the offerings made to it different from those made to the local gods, to masters of the earth, to the small demons, but she herself is particularly excellent among the powerful and benevolent divinities who met with the Buddha and who are worthy of being chosen as objects of offerings. According to the Vinaya, although not much importance is given to the characteristics and to the titles of the guardians and protectors of the Law, the latter are nevertheless important, in so far as they are protectors. On this subject, the master Tathāgata himself decreed: "Those who consider me as a master should each give a handful of food in offering to the yakṣinī Harītī!" In the avadāna of Ku-ru kulle (81) also, one finds her story and praises of her, both direct and indirect. In an āgama of the Tathāgata also, it is said that as she had met the Buddha and become a Protectoress of the Law, one must make offerings to her. Remembering the virtues which render her worthy of offerings, and which are explained in the Dharma, one must, with a confident and pure mind, understand that she is worthy of offerings. In the same order of ideas, the great Sakya paṇḍita himself expressed the criticism: "In our day in Tibet, when I see that people do not make gtor-ma nor pellets of dough according to the instructions laid down by the Buddha, and that people make sacrifices of food, of triangles, etc. as offerings to btsan, I ask myself if, yes or no, this is Buddhism". So it was that, when this statue was declared to be a protectress of the great stūpa of Svayambhu, and at the time when two new supports were set up in front of the stupa, many inauspicious manifestations occured.

It was when a farmer was working in his fields that he found the statue of the Tathāgata, standing and made of stone. I have heard the rumour that it came out from under the earth. Be that as it may, it is very pure and it has a great power of benediction. Furthermore, it is said of these "mixed" statues of Hindu and Buddhist divinities, and of the numerous big and small stūpas of different kinds, that the greater part were set up, since early times up till now, thanks to contributions provided for their construction by kings, brahmans, heads of households, well-off people and the numerous faithful of the town of Kathmandu.

Agnipuri is one of the group of five "towns" (82). It is the residence of the god of fire. Śāntapuri is in the same group. This is the place where, in former times, the Vajrācārya Śāntideva, after having given teachings, merged into the seat of the god. It is called Śantapuri alias Źi-ba'i groṅ. Later, when the master Vāgīsvarakīrti obtained a rainbow-body, it was in this place that he has remained until our day. The temple also was established at that time. I have heard that in the back of the two rooms which are there, Śrī Cakrasaṃvara is installed in his maṇḍala (83). However, although it is said that the inner door is opened only once a year or one time every twelve years, there is also, it seems, the custom of opening the door on the 25th or the 26th of each month. However, as at that moment other Nepalese and Tibetans are allowed in, except for the Vajrācārya master and the steward, I do not know exactly what the inside is like.

As one can go through the outer doorway whenever one wants, everyone makes offerings there. Above and on the outside of the inner door, there is a statue in gilded copper of Vajrayoginī. As guardians of the entrance, there are two statues, to the right and to the left of the threshold, one of a goddess with the face of a raven, the other with the face of an owl. Today, around Śiṅ-ku, tigers appear suddenly in view of practically everyone. Ultimately, without harming the people there, they disappear. This must be a manifestation of the master Vāgīsvarakīrti.

Nāgapuri is also one of the group of five "towns" and is the pond where dwells the Nāga. There are five "towns" which surround the great stūpa of Svayambhu on the summit of the Glaṅ-ru hill. On the path, here and there, are the statues and the stūpas mentioned above; and, inside the circuit, within the complex, are the houses and buildings of the Newari and Tibetan caretakers. On the path of the inner circuit around the main stūpa, many Indians, Nepalese, and Tibetans, people of all three countries, move constantly, without interruption. In particular, from dawn until the sunrise, Nepalese walk round while reciting the Mantra of Mañjuśri and pay hommage especially with the Praises of the Buddha called Daśabala, Viśeṣastava and Devātiśayastotra. Those who particularly extol the nature of the heretical masters and of the Buddha Bhagavan declaim in Sanskrit in a loud voice the secret words. At Patan, in front of the statue of the Lord A-khaṃ, every morning praises in Sanskrit are read in a correct style and in a melodious voice that provokes joy and sadness.

More, concerning what the Tibetans call Klu gan-rkyal: if one takes account of the state of the site and other various accounts, there is the ablution pond of the Nāga Śe-ṣa, a stone statue of the god Viṣṇu, represented in the form of a bather reclining on his back (84). On the hill opposite, there are two stūpas. Tibetans know them as the stūpa of the (Buddha's) father Śuddhodana and of his mother Māyādevī. However, it can hardly be so. Nevertheless, these are Buddhist stūpas, erected in early times, during the period of the spreading of Buddhism.

Concerning the small hill called by Tibetans Dzo-ki a-'bar and which is known in Sanskrit as Yo-gamba-ra alias Rnal-'byor nam-mkha', its pronunciation has changed to Dzo-ki a-'bar because Tibetans have understood it differently and deformed it. In this place, when I myself went to the site known as Dpal rdo-rje gdan-bźi, I asked an Indian: "Ihā tirthi kuṅā de ba tu kau nā he?", and he ansered "Jña-ne śva-ri he". This corresponds to the oral tradition, since the consort of Rdo-rje gdan-bźi is Ye-śes dbaṅ-phyug-ma. Generally speaking, this is a meeting place for many dpa'-bo and rnal-'byor-ma. Everywhere in this country of Nepal, local dakiṇīs (litt. born in the fields) appear in human form. Discreetly, they come here to gaṇacakra, in ranks of dpa'-bo and dpa'-mo. Generally, relatives, when they seem, although they understand perfectly, keep their secret from others. I understood that there are many people of this sort who cannot speak out.

Hindus, for their part also make bloody offerings in this place.

Furthermore, although Buddhist temples are very numerous in the towns, as I am not certain of their number and I haven't the space for everything, I do not write it here. I have only taken into account what I myself heard concerning places and supports whose reputation is widespread and which are situated in this part of the territory of the three kingdoms of Nepal. It is because of the particularly holy nature of these places and supports in this country of Nepal that in former times the greatest pandits and meditators of India came also to visit the Nepalese sites. In our time too, great savants from Tibet, land of snows, and holy men also, overcoming the difficulties, and wishing to visit these pure places, still continue to come here one after another. It is evident that the prayers of all of them are granted and their tasks are accomplished. Today still, when one goes there, these places and the events they have witnessed (in the course of history) are the entrance door to Nepal. Formerly, the great master Padma byuṅ-gnas and the pandits and siddhas of India who used to go to Tibet, as well as the majority of the great translators in olden days in Tibet, land of snows, entered (Nepal) by this same pathway, went there and returned. That is why, if I have not taken into account the multitude of places and supports as far up as Gun-thaṅ in Maṅ-yul, I will however mention briefly a few of their names.

The well-known Bal-po'i rdzoṅ (85). This is the place where Dharmabodhi of India met with the reverend Milarepa. Furthermore, it is said in the writings of the savant equipped with all qualities, the omniscient Padma dkar-po: "As the guru Padma byuṅ-gnas had the power, by his magical manifestations, of transforming one instant into a kalpa and one kalpa into an instant, according to certain authors he was born miraculously, according to others he was born in the stomach of his mother, which is clearly a contradiction: but a biography is like an ocean and one cannot say: 'This is certain; that is not'. One must realize that all that has been said about him, whatever the terms used, is true". He explained this well several times and I agree with that. Furthermore, according to some books of the Rniṅ-ma-pa, when the great master went to this place (Ye-śes) Mtsho-rgyal said to him: "As I, a female, am vulnerable to my enemies, you must give me an effective teaching to protect me". This is the place where he pronounced the Phur-pa mgul khug-ma then, after he had given it to Mtsho-rgyal, he put an end to his existence, and transformed his karmic body like fire without fuel, and it is told that his Body of Wisdom filled space. According to another version, in the presence of all of his disciples, he went to the summit of Gun-thaṅ la to the country of the rakṣas: and he took off from this place in the presence of Mtsho-rgyal and of some members of his holy entourage. If one accepts these versions, the place in question is there. Furthermore, the country in question in the famous prayer Bar-chad lam-sel, the gter-ma of the incarnation Ba-mkhal-pa, which is called Tsha-ba'i Tsha-śod, as well as the summit of the mountain pass of Caṅgala, are in this region. Later, here and in a few other parts of this region, I have heard it said that there are some other

places where dwell the great Ma-mo of the heretics. Concerning Bekoti: this is the place where the glorious Saraha (86) actually showing his face, sang the Doha rdo-rje songs to the Lotsāba Marpa, king of translators, the incarnation of the Kun-tu bzaṅ-po, unequalled in knowledge and in techniques of realization, who appeared in Tibet, land of snows.

At Siṅga-nags, there is a trace of the body of the great master. To the south of there, at Mon-kha'i brag, there is said to be a trace of his body on the rocks but this is an error.

The Nepalese mountain with its lake Nilakaṇṭha is also in this sector. According to heretical oral tradition, formerly, when the gods churned the ocean, a vase full of poison came out of it. For this reason the other chiefs of the gods fell down and fainted to death. Śiva, thanks to his great magical force and with his heroic confidence, swallowed it without fear. His throat became blackened and he became completely crazy. On the summit of the peak called Thu-na sim, he threw off his tiger-skin. Then, on his way down, his triśūla escaped from his hand and fell into the water. This story explains why men of India and of Nepal call the river which flows from Gun-thaṅ in Maṅ-yul: the Triśu Gangā. Later, by the fact of his having bathed in and drunk the water of the lake in this place, he broke the force of the poison which maddens. And his throat, which was black, changed into a very pretty blue color. One of the names of Śiva is "Blue Throat": and this place was called Nilakaṇṭha alias Mgrin-sṅon. Later on, kings of Nepal came there deliberately (87).

At Se-thaṅ there is the residence of Rdo-rje Se sbyin-ma (88), one of the four Ma-mo protectesses of the phur-pa.

Above Le-lde (89) is the birth-place of the Karma-pa, Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rje.

At Skyid-groṅ, is the Ārya Wa-ti Bzaṅ-po whose name is as well-known as the sun and the moon, and who is one of the five Lordly Brothers. At the time of disputations he gave the mantra of victory to the Sakya Paṇḍita. In reality he gave teachings to many others, blessed by fate; there is no doubt about this and this Lord swells here. The glorious Bźed-pa Rdo-rje (Milarepa) also, in the course of his pilgrimages, offerings and prostrations, although he doesn't recommend it explicitly, certainly made many praises to his support. For instance in some of his hymns, one reads:

"At the frontier between the two countries, India and
Nepal, dwells the Ārya Wa-ti bzaṅ-po.
If one goes around him, making salutations,
part of one's bad deeds will be written-off;
and virtue being rare, the number of pilgrims is few".

if I make a pilgrimage, I go to the Ārya 'Phags-pa wa-ti". Placed around this support (90), there are also statues with a power of unlimited benediction. Furthermore, there is the throne of the Sakya paṇḍita at the moment when he disputed with the heretic, "Phrog-byed dga' -bo and was victorious. There is also the dwelling of the seven Mātṛkā (91) and a stūpa of stone: stone statues of the Rigs-gsum mgon-po (Spyan-ras-gzigs, Phyag-ma rdo-rje and 'Jam-dbyaṅs) and the temple "Cloud of Maitreya" which is one of the group of four temples of the Ra-sa 'phrul-snaṅ, which govern the frontiers (92). Inside, there is a statue in alloy of the Buddha, erected by the Dharmaraja Asoka. And there is a statue which the incarnate dge-stoṅ A-karmati caused to come to Tibet: the statue of Guru Rin-po-che made with his own hands and which he installed. Near there is the place where the siddhi were give to and which is called Dṅos-grub phug.

Then, at Ri-bo dpal-'bar are the places where meditated the Great the forteress Rag-na byan-chub (93): the forteress nam-mkha' (94): Brag-dkar rta-so (95): the forteress grib-ma; his birthplace Skya rma-rtsa (96). The cave tshugs; the forteress Lin-da brag-dmar; the cave Roṅ-gyi' od-gsal; the cave of Ra-la birth-place of the reverend Ras-chuṅ rdo-rje grags-pa, (who obtained) a vajra-body colour of the rainbow. In accordance with the prophecy made by the Mkha'-'gro, the two reverend Ras-pa, master and disciple met there for the first time when the spiritual so Ras chuṅ-pa, having visited on pilgrimage to all the holy country of India, was freed from his illness. Having received many excellent teachings, he went up once more without hindrance to Tibet; and there, in this particularly famous spot, found himself again face to face with the Grant Reverend (97).

If I write a little about the story of such localities, this is not because I have been to places where others have not been nor because I have heard stories that others have not heard. In our days, all areas of Nepal seem to be filled with men coming from Tibet. All of those who actually visit these places, whatever I may say of them, will find that the fatigue incurred in writing the text was useless. However, in the future, those who will go to these places will learn in this way to distinguish between the Hindu schools and the Buddhists; and particular places. Their research will be made easier. Having heard fragments of stories and in view of augmenting the faith, thinking it possible, I've brought together the sayings of many holy lamas and oral traditions of India and Nepal; and I made this book. Anyone who is rich, who has a good supply of food and a strong body, filled with ideas, will yearn to go off on pilgrimages. Once on the track, which is difficult to negotiate, when he will be a prey to heat, to cold,and face many problems, the grain of his faith in the holy places will be totally detroyed by the shower of sufferings which will fall on him and he will start to criticize and become angry with the places and the supports which had preoccupied. him for so long; stupid people

of this sort are legion; compared to these stupid beings who set out without will-power and without faith, I am like a duck on a lotus lake, the vase of my heart is filled with the nectar of the qualities of the holy places. Why should I not have the chance to make this known to others? From the hand of Chos-kyi Ñi-ma.

Footnotes

1. Siddhārtha Gautama was born at Lumbini, near Kapilavastu: he obtained enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā; he preached the sermon on The Motion of the Wheel of Life in the Gazelle Park at Benares; he died in the forest of Śāla at Upavartana, a suburb of Kuśinagara. The expression "in the position of the lion" signifies "on the right side"; it is said that it is inauspicious to sleep on the left side, the side of the heart.

2. That is to say, the stūpa of the ten directions.

3. The translation of this series of terms poses problems. In turn, a direct translation of the words would not have much significance a restoration of the names of the countries to which the author indirectly refers would have to be made. Moreover, there are multiple traditions and catalogs of these Eight Cemetaries, etc. Following Bu-Ston, Bde-mhcog sbyin-ma don-gsal (The Collected Works of Bu-Ston, Part 6 (cha), edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Śatapitaka Series, vol. 46, New Delhi, 1966, p. 54 and following) and Pha Boṅ Kha-pa (Collected Works, vol. 8, New Delhi 1973, p. 470 A, page 8A (Tibetan) of the sixth text of the volume: Bde-chen ngya-mtsho'i 'jug-ṅogs) one could propose the following equivalents in order to orient future research. The Gnas-bźi would be Pulliramalaya, Jalandhara, Odiyana and Arbuta. The Ñe-ba'i gnas-bźi would be Godabari, Rvameśvari, Dewīkoti and Malaba. The Ziṅ would be Kāmarūpa and odra; the Ne-ba'i chandho: Kañci and Himālaya; the 'Dus-pa: Pretapuri and Grihadebatā; the Ñe-ba'i 'dus-pa: So-sorśta and Suvarnadvipa; the Dur-khrod: Maru and Kulutā; and the Dur-khrod brgyad: Gtum-drag, Tshaṅ tshiṅ 'Khrigs-pa, Rdo-rje 'bar-ba, Keṅ-rus can, Drag-tu dgod-va, Bkra-sis tshal, Mun-pa drag-po and Ki-li Ki-li sgra sgrog-pa. On the theme of the subjugation of Rudra, see R.A. Stein, Annuaire du College de France, 1972, p. 505-510; 1973, p. 463-470; 1974, p. 508-517.

4. This classification of the population of Nepal in Bram-ze, Rgyal-rigs, Rje-rigs, Dmaṅs and Gdol-ba is not an ethnological classification. It is inspired by the classification of persons suitable for being initiated to the four types of tantras. See

G. Tucci. The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala, tr. from the Italian by A.H. Brodrick. London. Rider, 1969, p. 78-80. For two recent views of quadripartition in Nepal and in the Himalayas, see N.J. Allen, "Fourfold classifications of society in the Himalayas", in J.F. Fisher (ed.), Himalayan Anthropology, the Indo-Tibetan Interface and, by the same author, "Quadripartition of Society in early Tibetan Sources" in Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1978, fasc. 3 and 4, p. 341-360.

5. On the the'u raṅ, class of the demons, see, for example, R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, La Haye, Mouton, 1956, p. 282-283; and especially H. Eimer and Pema Tsering, T'e'u raṅ mdos-ma, in Serta Tibeto-Mongolica, Festschńgt fur Walther Heissing zun 60. Geburtstag, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 47-96 on the bsen-mo dgu mdos see Oraclas... p. 372, 385; On the 'dre, see the index of G. Tucci, Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie, translated from the German by R. Sailley, Paris, Payot, 1973, p. 496.

6. This enumeration of ritual practices is difficult to interpret with precision. For "the offerings made by young girls", one thinks of the Kumārī, but it could refer to the marriage of young Newari girls to Viṣṇu. The "festivals of dpa'-bo and of 'dpa'-mo" could signify meetings like those at the Aṣṭamī Vrata or jātrā to pūjā thān. In any case the mention of gaṇacakra is clear. Since A. David-Neel, (Au Coeur des Himalayas, Paris, Pygmaliòn re-edition, 1978, p. 129-131), ethnologist, strangely enough has no mentioned such practices in Nepal.

7. J. Hanson renders 'byuṅ-po as a general term for demon" (The Torch Of Certainty, London, Shambala, 1977, p. 90, n. 26); for S. Beyer, (The Cult of Tara, London, University of California Press, p. 296), "they are the vengeful spirits of dead men...".

8. Yan-lag bźi corresponds to sk. caturaṅga. However the expression here has a colloquial value and it cannot be taken as a precise reference to the four classical branches of the Indian army; infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants.

9. For an incomplete French translation of the biography of Marpa, see J. Bacot, La Vie de Marpa, le traducteur, Paris, 1937. For a complete translation see Nalanda Translation Committee, The Life of Marpa the Translator, Projna Press, Boulder, 1982.

10. See. M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Oxford, 1899: p. 533, nāgakesara, Mesua roxburghii; p. 719, bakula, Mimusops elengi; p. 627 pippala, Ficus religiosa; p. 314, ko-vidara, Bauhinia variegata; p. 714, plakśa. Ficus infectoria; p. 271, Kāpittha, "belonging to the tree Feronia elephantum"; p. 450, tunnaka, Cedrela toona; p. 296, kuvala, Zizuphus jujuba; p. 113, aśoka, Konesia asoka roxb.; p. 444, tāla borassus flabelliformis; p. 438, tamāla, *Xanthochymus pictorius.

11. M. Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 388, campaka. The custom of placing petals of campaka in a letter is maintained today in some regions of Tibetan culture.

12. On the theoretical and real connections between the Glaṅ-ru of Khotan and that of the valley of Nepal, see also D.A. Macdonald, "Préambule a lā lecture d'un Rgya-Bod yig-tshaṅ", in Journal Asiatique, 1963, 1, p. 112-115, n. 32.

13. On the word gañjira, see, recently K. Sagaster, "Der Weisse Lotus des Friedens", in Zentral-Asiatische Studien, vol. 12, Wiesbaden, Otto Harassowitz, 1978, p. 524-525, n. 16. In Nepali, it is called gājur.

14. See, for example, Kathmandu Valley. The preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage, (coordinator: C. Pruscha) Vienna, Anton Schroll, 1975, vol. 1, p. 228-229.

15. The stūpa of Bya-ri kam-sva is the great stūpa of Bodhnath. Gu-laṅ is Pasupatināth; Gotisvara is Guhyeṣori; the Gsuṅ ldan-ma is the Bāgmātī; the Skra can-ma is the Kesavatī alias Viṣṇumatī.

16. These places will be the object of more thorough notations further on in the text of our author.

17. A sheet printed at Bodhnāth in sam-mo phag-gis lo, entitled bal-yul mchod-rten-rnams-gsum gyi gsol-'debs, identifies Ghi-śaṅ kur-ti thān of Bhagisorisarasoti (sic).

18. On Kho-khom as the Tibetan name for Bhaktapur, see T.V. Wylie, A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal, Rome, IsMEO, 1970, p. 13, n. 11.

19. On the cemetaries of Nepal, in general, see P.H. Pott, Yoga and Yantra, translated from the Dutch by Rodney Needham, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966, p. 76-101, and T.V. Wylie, op. cit., p. 21. Unfortunately the distinction between the great Indo-Tibetan theory of the Eight Cemeteries and the actual cemeteries of Nepal, of which some are still functional, has not yet been established with precision.

20. On the white Matsyendranāth, see T.V. Wyilie, op. cit., p.14-15, n. 20. The divinity and his residence were studied in detail by John Locke, S.J., in an important thesis: Karunamaya, The Cult of Avalokiteśvara-Matsyendranāth in the Valley of Nepal, Kathmandu, Sahayogi Press, 1980.

21. Stham-vihāra is Tham-bāhīl in the Thamel quarter. See, for example, Rajendra Ram, A History of Buddhism in Nepal (A.D. 704-1396), Patna, 1977, p. 114-115, 169. The stūpas of Asoka which are mentioned here are perhaps those of Chabahil (Kathmandu Valley, Vol. I, p. 138-139; V-MZ 4).

22. See John Locke, S.J., Rāto Matsyendranāth of Patan and Bungamati, Kirtipur, 1973, passim.

23. On this remarkable man, see, for example, the preface by Gene Smith in vol. I of the Selected Writings of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin tshe-dbaṅ nor-bu, Darjeeling, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973.

24. Cf. Wylie, op. cit., p. 19 and n. 35.

25. On the Si-tu paṇ-chen, see the preface by Gene Smith in The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-Tu paṇ-chen, New Delhi International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968.

26. For other traditions concerning Sāriputra, see Wylie, op. cit., p. 17, n. 23.

27. Cf. Wylie, op. cit., p. 18.

28. For other Nepalese traditions, see. B.J. Hasrat. History of Nepal as told by its own and contemporary chroniclers, Hoshiarpu 1970, p. 5-7.

29. On the lake, which he writes Dhandan, see Hasrat, op. cit., p. 6 and n. 3.

30. On the name Gopuchcha, see Hasrat, op. cit., p. 21.

31. On Prachanda Deva, see Hasrat, op. cit., p. 14-19.

32. This is the B/K-331 of Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 110. Another photo is in Hemrāj Sākya, Śrīsvayambhu Mahacaitya (in Newari), Kathmandu, Nepal Press, 1978, opposite p. 584.

33. Kathmandu Valley. A/K 326, vol. 2, p. 109; Sakya, op. cit., p. 572.. t 34.

34. Sakya, op. cit., p. 510.

35. Sakya, op. cit., p. 564.

36. Nāgapuri is a rectangular basin only a few meters to the north of the Mahācaitya. Its position is clearly indicated in H. Seemann, Nepal, Die Deutsche Fraternitas, 1969, p. 31.

37. Sakya, op. cit., p. 514.

38. The enumeration is inexact, doubtless due to a slip in copying.

39. Cf. Hasrat, op. cit., p. 31, 22.

40. On this person, see G.N. Roerich, The Blue Annals. 2nd edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1976, p. 206, 227, 758, 801.

41. Bauddhanāth, in Kathmandu Valley, vol. 1, p. 136, 137, V-MZ 3; Wylie, op. cit., p. 20-22.

42. On the Eight Cemetaries, etc., see, for example, G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, 1949, p. 542, 615, n. 237. The sheet, cited in our n. 17, situates the Lhun -grub brtsegs-pa'i dur-khrod at Baudhakociyana.

43. On the Ma-mo, see René de Nebesky-Wojkowits, op. cit., p. 269-273.

44. Kathmandu Valley, vol. I, p. 142-145.

45. Kathmandu Valley, vol. I, P. 146-149. For a recent description, see M. Anderson, The Festivals of Nepal, London, Allen & Unwin, 1971, p. 190-193.

46. See G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 688-693.

47. Garuda Narāyan: Kathmandu Valley, vol. I, p. 156. Cf. Wylie, op. cit., p. 30 and n. 80.

48. Cf. Wyilie, op. cit., p. 25 and n. 63.

49. G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 801, 228.

50. On the legend of Śankarācārya, see Hasrat, op. cit., p. 38-40.

51. Sylvain Lévi identified Ugratara as Vajrayoginī (Le Népal. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1905-1908, vol. I, p. 380-381). See also Wylie, op. cit., p. 25, n. 61 and 62, and Kathmandu Valley, vol. I, p. 154-155.

52. The word arghā in Nepali signifies a ceremonial offering (generally of water). Cf. sk. arghā (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 89).

53. S. Lévi, op. cit., p. 329 of vol. I, has written: "the Maṇimatī (Mani-ṛohiṇī, Manohara, Manhaura) which came down from Mount Maṇicūda (Manchuri) is originally linked to the famous prince Manicuda: this hero of Buddhist charity did not hesitate, in a spirit of sacrifice, to pull out from his head an incomparable jewel encrusted there by nature; either the river flowed out on the scene of such a great feat, or the precious stone itself (Sv. P. IV)". See also ibid., vol. III, p. 166.

54. For the episode of the conversion of Khyi-ra-ba Mgon-po rdo-rje, see. J. Bacot, "La Conversion du Chasseur", in Etudes d'Orientalisme, Mélanges Linossier, Paris 1935, I, p. 131-144, with the orthography of Sñe-śaṅ mgur-ta. Evans-Wentz has Nyi-shang Gurta (Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa, London 1951, p. 240-241). The variations of the name of the place, Sñi-śaṅ, etc., designate generally the region of

Manangbhot, which is far from the valley. See, for example, Naresh J. Gurung, "An Introduction to the socio-economic structure of Manang District", in Kailash, vol. IV, N. 3, Kathmandu, 1976, p. 295-109, who writes Nyesang. P. Aufschnaiter, "Land and Places of Milarepa", in East and West, New Series, vol. 26, 1-2, March - June 1976, Rome, Is. M.E.O., p. 175-190, mentions a place where "in the rocks above the cave are hanging the bows and arrows of Mgon-po rdo-rje who afterwards became one of Milarepa's disciples" (p. 181). The principal temple of Vāgīśvarī is at Deo Patan. There seems to be confusion in the nomenclature.

55. On Stag-mo lus-sbyin, see A.W. Macdonald, Essays on the Ethnology of Nepal and South Asia, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975, p. 160, n. 86. Even today, one must do as Chos-kyi Ñi-ma did and ask the way to Namo Buddha. On the probable transfer of the name of Namobuddha/Namobuddhā from Khotan to Nepal, see. J. Brough, "Legends of Khotan and Nepal", BSOAS, XII. 2 (London, 1948), p. 336-337.

56. Kathmandu Valley, vol. I, p. 178-179.

57. G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 72, 521, 866.

58. On Na-ro mKha'-spyod-ma in Tibet, see S. Beyer, op. cit., p. 47.

59. Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 47: A/K-129. In our text one would have expected "Tibetans are not allowed to enter" but it is not possible to translate otherwise.

60. Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 97: B/K-287. The "plain of Tibet" can only be the Tundi Khel. On the subject of "the marriage", see G. Tucci. "The wives of Sroṅ-bstan sgam-po", in Opera Minora, Part II, Rome, 1971, p. 605-611, notably p. 610.

61. Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 13: A/K-9.

62. On the pandit Vibhuticandra, see R. Saṅkrtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Tibet", in JBORS, vol. XXXIII, 1937, p. 11-13 and S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India, London, Allen & Unwin, 1962, p. 351, 376-379; also G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 796.

63. See G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 799.

64. Gur-ba/gur-pa must render Gubhāju, name of the caste of Newari priests; in old Nepali: guru bharādju.

65. See Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2. p. 193: A/P-234.

66. See G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 801.

67. Gnose of co-emergence. See P. Kaverne, "On the concept of Sahaja in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature", in Temenos, Turku, 1975, vol. II, p. 88-135.

68. On the cremation of Vanaratna at Ramadoli, see G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 804.

69. E. is mentioned in A.M. Blondeau. "the lha-'dre bka-than", in Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1971, p. 57 and 61. Ku-sa-li must be the Kun-sa-zi of Madame Blondeau (p. 64-68). We do not know if E bihāra should be identified as I Bāhāl/Bāhil, Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2. p. 204: B/J-273.

70. See G.N. Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmin, Patna, Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959, p. 87-88.

71. Perhaps Kindol Vihāra, Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 112: B/K-335.

72. Yan-le-śod is already mentioned in the Pelliot tib. 44. See F.A. Bischoff and C. Hartman, "Padmasambhava's Invention of the Phur-bu, Ms. Pelliot tibetain 44", in Etudes tibétaines..., Paris, 1971, p. 21 and A.M. Blondeau, loc. cit., p. 54-56 and n. 40, 43 and 44. See also Wylie, op. cit., p. 31. Meanwhile the localization of Yan-le-śod at Pharping, where images of Viṣṇu and Narayan are to be found, remains vague.

73. For a description of this cow, see W.J. Wilkins, Hindu Mythology, Vedic and Puranic, Calcutta, 1882, p. 139.

74. On Pham-thin-pa, see T.V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling ngyas-bshad, Rome, IsMEO, 1962, p. 200, n. 808 and 809, and A Tibetan Religious Geography ... p. 34, n. 107.

75. See T.V. Wylie, A Tibetan Religious Geography ... p. 31, n. 90 and S. Levi, Le Nepal, vol. II, p. 400-401. The "Sikh Narayan" of Sylvain Lévi can be found in the sheet cited in our n. 17 where it is written Śi-kha nā-ran.

76. For the biography of Padmasambhava, see C. Toussaint, Le Dict de Padma, Paris, 1933. In T.V. Wylie, op. cit., it is a question of two lakes "where dwell the white and black Nagas", p. 31.

77. For the twelve Brtan-ma, see A.M. Blondeau, loc. cit., p. 75 and the references which are cited in n. 161.

78. On Vasubandhu in Nepal, see Sylvain Lévi, op. cit., vol. II, p. 65. There is a good photo of Vasubandhucaitya in Hemrāj Śākya op. cit., p. 582.

79. Mahe in Newari means 'buffalo'.

80. Hārītī generally corresponds to Ājimā, goddess of smallpox. See Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 109: B/K-325. However the word ājimā in Newari signifies 'grandmother' and can be applied to many diverse divinities.

81. On Kurukulle, see R. of Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit., p. 45, 76.

82. A photo of Agnipuri can be found in Hemraj Śākya, op. cit., p. 564.

83. According to Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 109: A/K-326, the divinity is Mahasamvaradigana (sic).

84. Kathmandu Valley, vol. 2, p. 56: K/B-158. Cf. A.W. Macdonald, Essays on the Ethnology... p. 301 and T.V. Wylie, op. cit., p. 28 and n. 76.

85. Bal-po rdzoṅ, "the fortress of Nepal" is Nawakot. See Aufschneiter, loc. cit., p. 179.

86. On Saraha, see recently H.V. Geunther, The Royal Song of Saraha, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1969.

87. Cf. A.W. Macdonald, Essays ..., p. 299-301.

88. R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit., p. 271, mentions a Rdo-rje bse byin čhen-mo.

89. On the Lende Khola, see H.W. Tilman, Nepal Himalaya, Cambridge, The University Press, 1952, p. 51 and following.

90. P. Aufschneiter, loc. cit., p. 179, writes: "The Phags-pa Gompa of Kyirong which belonged to the order of the Gelugpa and contains the jo-bo is the only important building of Tibet in the pagoda style of Nepal ...". See also D.A. Macdonald in Journal Asiatique, 1963, I, p. 59 and T.V. Wylie, op. cit., p. 14-15, n. 20.

91. On the role of the Mātṛkā elsewhere in Nepal (they are found, for instance, on the summit of certain hills which surround the Valley), see A.W. Macdonald and Anne Vergati Stahl, Newar Art, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1978, passim.

92. See A.M. Blondeau, loc. cit., p. 63 and M. Aris, "Some considerations on the early history of Bhutan", in Tibetan Studies, Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich, 1978, p. 16-17.

93. P. Aufschneiter, loc. cit., p. 178, writes: "Here is situated Rag-ma, a fairly large village, at the foot of the immense rock walls rising up to the summit of Ribo Palbar which dominates the valley of Kyirong to the south. At about 3000 m. higher in the rocks is the cave of Byang chub rdzong where, at the request of the villagers of Rag-ma when they visited him in this cave, he composed the song in praise of their land beginning with the

line phu-na lha-btsan gangs-dkar mtho. This snow-covered mountain is Genesh Himal, 7400 m. high, on the Nepal border".

94. See, for example, G.C.C. Chang, The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa. New York, 1962, vol. I, p. 68-73.

95. P. Aufschneiter, loc. cit., writes: "the building most highly praised in the first place is that called Dbu-ma rdzong and stands on an airy, rocky shelf. The grub-phug is a large cave in the rock wall and is reached by a tall ladder. Near Longda is the cave of Lin-ba brag-dmar rdzong". Cf. Chang, op. cit., I, p. 1 8-54.

96. Today Tsalung (Aufschneiter, loc. cit., p. 176). Cf. Evans-Wentz, Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa, 1928, p. 50-52, n. 4.

97. See Evans-Wentz, ibid., p. 237.

98. See, for example, G.N. Roerich, The Blue Annals, p. 436-440 and T.V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet ..., p. 174, n. 547.

RELIGION IN TIBET AT THE TIME OF SRONG-BTSAN SGAM-PO: MYTH AS HISTORY

By

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The New Delhi, 1973 reprint of the famous Essay towards a dictionary, Tibetan and English by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös contains the following entry on p. 302: —Srong-btsan sgam-po, name of a celebrated king in Tibet, in the 7th century of our æra, under whom Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet—. It seems appropriate, in a volume dedicated to the memory of the great pioneer of Tibetan studies in Europe, to comment on this entry in the light of more recent work in the field.

Tibetan oral and written traditions concerning the deeds of Srong-btsan sgam-po have been analyzed by a lot of foreign researchers in recent years: and attempts have been made, in this context and with regard to particular events, to separate History (what actually happened) from Myth (stories about what actually happened). However no general consensus has emerged from such debates as to the great king's own beliefs and the extent of Buddhist influence in Tibet in his lifetime. Moreover, there is little agreement about the religious substratum on which Buddhism was imposed. Was this Animism, Shamanism, unsystematized Bon or Bon already organized as a religion? Did Taoism precede Buddhism in certain areas of Tibet and what were its links, if any, with what Prof. R.A. Stein calls the —nameless— religion? Did some or all of the above-mentioned aspects of religious life co-exist already in Tibet in the first half of the 7th century, in what proportions and in what cooperative or antagonistic relationships? That Srong-btsan sgam-po was a Buddhist, was indeed the great promoter of the early phase of Buddhism's spread in Tibet is an article of faith for most Tibetans, even today.[1] The extent to which he was a Buddhist, if indeed he was at all, are matters of controversy among foreign scholars. So the first impression derived from a reading of the relevant literature is that we are confronted, on the one hand, by fold-beliefs and, on the other hand, by scholarly doubts as to the reasonableness of such beliefs. The second impression is that little effort has been devoted to understanding why Tibetans believe and write what they have done on the subject.

In order to substantiate the above remarks, it is perhaps necessary to stress just how divergent are the views expressed about Srong-btsan sgam-po. I will therefore begin by enumerating the views of some western authorities. One of the early western authors

to comment on what an anthropologist would call —The Gesture of Srong-btsan sgam-po— was Jacques Bacot. Concerned primarily with the Chinese marriage of the Tibetan sovereign, Bacot edited and translated into French a Maṇi bka' 'bum version of this episode in —The Gesture—, making use in his commentary of the Tun-huang Chronicle and of Pelliot's translations from the T'ang Histories. His article was a pioneer effort in the comparative use of the literary sources available at the time he wrote. His analysis led him to conclude that Srong-btsan sgam-po —fut surtout guerrier beaucoup plus que bouddhiste—.[2] More recently D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson have opined that —Buddhism during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po was probably restricted to the court, and its priests were Indian or Chinese. A few Tibetans may have studied the new faith and helped in the first translation of religious books but even this is not certain—.[3] R.A. Stein writes that —au début, il ne s'agissait sans doute que de premiers contacts, et non d'une pénétration véritable du bouddhisme, même pas à la cour. C'est du moins l'impression que donnent les sources chinoises—.[4] For T.V. Wylie —Srong-btsan sgam-po was in all probability an illiterate monarch who practised the Shamanistic religion of the Tibetan people until his death in 649 A.D.—.[5] For P. Demiéville, —ce n'est pas au VIIe siecle, comme le veut la tradition indigène, ce n'est pas à Srong-btsan sgam-po (+650) et à son épouse chinoise la princesse Wen-tch'eng (+680), ce n'est pas non plus à la premierè moitié du VIIIe siècle, au roi Khri-lde gcug-bcan (+755) et à la princesse de Kin-tch'eng (+739) que remonte la conversion du Tibet au Bouddhisme; c'est à Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan (755-797) et à ses successeurs, à partir du VIIIe siècle, et plutôt a la fin de ce siècle—.[6] For G. Tucci also —there can be no question of a conversion of king Srong-btsan sgam-po or of an extensive diffusion of the faith carried out by him—.[7] Tucci was moreover the first scholar to question the historical reality of the episode in —The Gesture— constituted by the king's marriage with the Nepalese princess Bhṛkuṭi. —Just as Padmasambhava had his two wives Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal and Mandarava—, he wrote, —so also Srong-btsan sgam-po was identified with Avalokitesvara assisted by his two Tārā. The disregard of the historical facts by the religious community, only eager to glorify him as a god, is testified also by the fact that he is not said to have died but to have disappeared into the self-originated image of Bcu-gcig zhal after the Nepalese wife had disappeared into his right shoulder and the Chinese one into his left shoulder. The trilogy imposed on Srong-btsan sgam-po cannot be dissociated from his being identified with Khasarpana, one of the usual forms of Avalokitesvara which has his female companions Syāmā Tārā, the Chinese princess, and Bhṛkuṭī (Khro gñer can), the Nepalese princess—.[8] Even in Nepal doubts are now being cast on the historical reality of the Nepalese marriage, one author arguing that the exemplary Buddhist behaviour of Bhṛkuṭī in Tibet scarcely ties in with her background as a Hindu princess.[9] The most novel, most deeply researched view of Srong-btsan sgam-po's religious convictions and acts, in the context of his times, is that to be found in the well-known article by D.A. Macdonald.[10] The ideas put forward in that article have been summarized by A.-M. Blondeau

on three occasions. —Later sources—, she writes, —attribute to the initiative of [Srong-btsan sgam-po] the invention of writing and grammar, borrowed from India, and to his conversion the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet. Early sources, silent on the latter point, lead us on the contrary to consider that during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po elements of the old religion were organized into a royal religion: the deified btsan-po re-enacted the same'descent' from the world of the gods on high as the first mythical king, and thus legitimated his power. Until the fall of the royalty, and despite the real conversions of sovereigns to Buddhism, their edicts invoke these principles on which was based their authority—.[11]

The surprise and even incredulity engendered in the minds of some western scholars and most Tibetans by the findings of D.A. Macdonald's article would have been tempered had they paid heed to a law in the development of religions adumbrated nearly fifty years ago by Paul Mus. As little attention seems to have been paid to its formulation in French, I will quote its English version. —The way in which a belief is described and explained once it is formed, and the origins which are attributed to it at that stage, are necessarily different from the way it was invented and from its real origins—if only because when, having it, people try to explain it, they possess it, which was not the case with the inventors. It is born out of something that is not itself and, once separated, rejects what is not itself, even though this was its source.—[12] The manner in which Tibetan Buddhist authors have worked to efface from the memory of their compatriots elements compounded in the royal religion and even its very name (gtsug) seem to be a good illustration of the working of this law.

A particularly significant episode in —The Gesture— has recently been analyzed by Michael Aris. Making use of ten Tibetan sources which he dates and lists, his analysis concerns the reputed founding by Srong-btsan sgam-po of twelve temples: —the four great Horn-suppressors (Ru-gnon chen-po bzhi); the four —to tame the borders— (mtha' 'dul); and the four to tame —the area beyond the borders— (yang 'dul)—. Aris seems perfectly justified in including two ancient Buddhist temples of present-day Bhutan, Skyer-chu lha-khang and Byams-pa'i lha-khang, as two of the twelve. He quotes with approval Prof. R.A. Stein's remark that —the conquering and civilising function of the first king, once he was established at the centre, was performed in accordance with Chinese ideas: in square concentric zones, each boxed in by the next and extending farther and farther from the centre—. To substantiate this viewpoint, Aris draws attention to the Five Zones of Control figured in the Yu kung: —1) the royal domains 2) the princes' domains 3) the pacification zone 4) the zone of allied barbarians and 5) the zone of culture-less savagery.— —The Tibetan scheme—, he writes, —must surely have been a contraction of this or similar schemes in which zones 1), 4) and 5) may perhaps have been selected as most appropriate to the Tibetan world — a world which, let it not be forgotten, the rulers of the 7th and 8th centuries held to be the equal if not on

occasion the actual superior of China—.[13] While Marcel Granet had emphasized many years earlier the Chinese preference for envisaging the Earth as a series of five emboxed squares, I do not know of any passage in the texts used by Aris in which the Tibetan authors stated that they were consciously invoking Chinese emboxment theories. While it is unlikely that the notion of rājmaṇḍala as developed in Kauṭilīya's Arthaśāstrā[15] influenced early Tibetan historiography, we should remember that emboxed power-centres are attested to in many other Little as well as Great Asian traditions[16] and that the early Tibetan kings seem to have been entombed in the central of nine squares.[17] What, to my mind, it is essential to grasp in the Tibetan twelve-temple scheme analyzed by Aris is that it constitutes a whole. To nail down only the hips and shoulders of the demoness who exemplified the king's domain would have served little purpose; to establish Buddhist order he had to immobilize her entire body.

One of the important points made by Aris is that —The Gesture— evolves in Tibetan sources with the expansion of Buddhism in Tibet and that it is absent in the earliest Tibetan documents. One might also stress that certain episodes in —The Gesture— which do seem to be truly historical — for instance, the military conquests — are often not mentioned at all in Tibetan renderings of —The Gesture—. Inversely —The Gesture— as conserved in the Sherdukpen context of our days seems to lack any historical foundation whatever.[18]

I have argued elsewhere that, in Himalayan tribal contexts, power-models are deliberately formulated and exploited by certain elites and are used as instruments of social control.[19] The deeds of Srong-btsan sgam-po, as exemplified in Tibetan recensions of —The Gesture—, seem to be a further instance of such practices. It was Buddhism that made Tibet literate. It was Buddhism that made of Tibet a cultural and political unit. In order to impose on the minds of the people a certain image of their first great Buddhist king, Tibetan authors, engaged as they were in the building-up of long-term Church-State power-relationship in Tibet, did not just take over certain schemes of power-installation in that country and blend them to some selected historical events. In all they wrote, from at least the 8th century onwards, they were influenced by Buddhist, Indian historiography. Now in India, as B.G. Gokhale has pointed out, history (commonly understood as itihāsa) is lumped together by the Buddhist as a variety of 'low' or 'unedifying' talk. At no point did the Buddhists deign to call what they compiled as 'histories' (as itihāsa) but took special care to designate them as vamsas. Properly speaking, therefore, the Buddhist historical consciousness was designed to articulate itself in terms of a vamsa, a chronicle concerning primarily the Buddha, the tradition of oral, recitational or written tradition. Whatever was relevant to these grand themes became legitimate parts of the vamsa but not itihāsa. The principle idea was that of an unbroken continuity, whether of pupilary succession or royal and dynastic sequences regarded as relevant to the main purpose of Buddhist history. That purpose was ethically conceived; i.e. that the composition should

provide joy and delight, —full of faith, pleasant and that which consists of various forms— leading to elation. It should be a chronicle handed down from generation to generation. It should be composed for the —furtherance of teaching (sāsanavuḍḍhi)—, for —the creation of faith among listeners—, to —arouse serene joy and emotion—.[20] It was as inheritors of this vision engagée of —History that Tibetan authors penned their chronicles and later printed them.

Before pursuing this line of thought it is perhaps useful at this point to consider —The Gesture— in another perspective. Up till today the coming of Buddhism to Tibet seems, by common consent, to have been considered such a serious matter that it should be left solely to philologists to analyze. However, sufficiently good work has surely been done by now by these specialists to enable us to proceed with comparative studies in the aim of situating Tibet in the wider context of the development of national cultures in particular geographical and cultural areas. —The Gesture— should surely take its rightful place in what G.S. Kirk calls —a recurrent phenomena in the development of cultures—, the Heroic Age. —The reason for the similarity of these products is—, he writes, —that they arose from a Heroic Age or its immediate successor. The main components of such an age, which tend to occur in the development of many different nations, seems to be a penchant for warefare and adventure, a powerful nobility, and a simple but temporarily adequate material culture devoid of much aesthetic refinement—.[21] C.M. Bowra, in his remarkable book Heroic Poetry, had already noted that —the audiences of heroic poetry usually assume that it is a record of fact, and it certainly takes the place of history in societies which have no written annals, is believed to speak with authority about the past, and may even be used to settle disputes on such matters as land or ancestors.—[22] Both Bowra and Kirk, in my opinion, overestimate, in the elaboration of heroic popular traditions, the role of poetry at the expense of prose. Moreover the massive and masterly studies of Prof. R.A. Stein on the Gesar epic have tended to distract attention from other lesser epic manifestations in the Tibetan oral and written traditions.

In Tibet, with the introduction of Buddhism, oral traditions came to be written down and in this manner were stabilized so that in time oral traditions became more and more tributary to written documents. The oral versions of ro-sgrung which I recorded in 1959 in Kalimpong from a practically illiterate Tibetan sgrung-mkhan are filled with material which derives from printed books and manuscripts, which the story-teller had never read but which he had heard recounted.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there seems to have been little direct knowledge of Indian chronicles. E. Haarh, who has drawn attention to the regret expressed by the author of the Deb-ther sgnon-po (1478) that he could not write down the history of Aśoka as he did not know anyone possessing an Indian royal chronicle relating the succession of reigns, has summarized —a rather firmly established— Tibetan tradition concerning four Indian kings who —belonged to

various branches of the Śākyas all of them considering themselves the descendants of the original king of India, Mahāsamadhi or Mahāsammata (maṅ-po (b)skur-ba)—.[23] Haarh writes: —Obviously the object of the Buddhist tradition was — partly to establish, at a certain time, a sufficiently distinguished and imposing ancestry of the Yar-luṅ Dynasty by connecting it with the Śākyas in the same way as in a later time the Mongol Qavans, by claiming descent from the Yar-luṅ kings, considered themselves the descendants of Mahāsamadhi, and -partly, to establish, from the very beginning, a Buddhist background for the Dynasty and...a legendary foreboding of the appearance of Cakravartin kings in the Tibetan dynasty by choosing Bimbisāra, Prasenajit or Udaya as an ancestor and emphasizing the prodigious signs with which Gnya-khri btsan-po was born—.[24] He has shown that the 32 laksana of a mahāpurusa were at first neither well known nor well understood in Tibet and that authors included, in their lists of these, ancient Tibetan, non-Indian elements.[25]

The problem that Buddhist chroniclers faced, as was well understood by Gokhale, and his remarks quoted above are also pertinent to the Tibetan context, was to establish —an unbroken continuity, w whether of pupilary succession or royal and dynastic sequences—. Quite simply, they strove to attach the first Tibetan dynasty in historical times to India, the homeland of Buddhism and the Buddha. To state this is not to deny that Chinese geomancy, and Confucian and Taoist theories of the universe and of sovereignty influenced early Tibetan —historical— compositions. But the master-plan in what Paul Mus would have called —l'opération Bouddhisme— was to link Tibet to India. However, at the same time, the intention was also nation-building: Tibet was to be established as a cultural entity distinct from India.

In India itself the Buddhist cakravartin, par excellence, was, of course, Aśoka. That Aśoka did not, in his inscriptions, designate himself as a cakravartin is irrelevant in the context of the present analysis. He is renowned, in oral and textual tradition, as the builder of 84,000 stūpa, a gesture not merely architectural but with political and religious implications also. That gesture in turn derived from, while at the same time it rejected, its Brahmanical precedent. Mus has put the matter succinctly: —L'agnicit ses autels brique par brique selon le schéma temporel que nous avons indiqué. Chaque brique correspond à la fois à une parcelle du corps de Prajāpati et à une section du Veda, c'est à dire à une portion des deux manifestations principales du brahman. L'ensemble des autels reconstitute le brahman au complet, ou Prajāpati au complet. Aśoka, selon la légende, n'a pas agi differemment. Son appui transcendant n'est plus le brahman, mais le dharma, incarné dans le Buddha, et répresenté par le Canon. Le Canon comprend en principe 84,000 sections, comme le Ṛg Veda 10,800 stances théoriques. Ainsi Aśoka construit-il 84,000 stūpa voués chacun à un atome du corps de la Loi. Ces 84,000 fondations recomposent l'unité du corps de la Loi et sont équivalents, dit le Pali, au corps complet du Buddha. Le roi de la

Loi, fonde ainsi son autorité sur un schéma constructif mis en faveur par la tradition brahmanique. Toutes réserves faites sur l'interprétation dogmatique, on peut admettre qu'en pratique, pour l'exercice de la religion royale, le dharma est au cakravartin bouddhiste ce que le brahman de l'Aitareya ou du Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa est au roi brahmaniste. Ce dernier incarnait le brahman, il le recevait en lui, et il en répandait autour de lui l'influence régulatrice, au profit de son royaume. Car le brahman est l'ordre dans l'univers. Transporté au centre du royaume, il fait l'ordre dans celui-ci. De même, le dharma dont s'auréole Aśoka et qu'il enseigne à ses sujets: cette entité engendre dans le royaume l'équivalent de l'order cosmique des brahmanes, c'est à dire, si l'on transporte en valeurs bouddhiques, un etat analogue a celui qu'offre le monde, lorsque la présence d'un Buddha l'éclaire—.[26] More recently, with regard to Theravāda areas of the Buddhist world, S.J. Tambiah has argued in favour of considering the Aśoka paradigm as —a model both generating and legitimating political action—.[27] Now while Buddhist authors suceeded in linking the name of Aśoka with the introduction of Buddhism to Khotan, to Kashmir and to Nepal, it has never been suggested that his dominion extended to Tibet nor that he introduced Buddhism to that country. In any case the dharma, acceptable to a polyreligious and multi-ethnic society, as proned in the later Aśoka's inscriptions and edicts, even had it been known to the Tibetan Buddhist authors of early vamsa-type compositions, which seems unlikely, would have offered little interest to them, in their context. What intrigued them was the legendary Aśoka: and the life-patterns of Aśoka and Srong-btsan sgam-po were not so very different. Certain stock epithets, as Malalasekera has pointed out, are used to describe a Cakkavatti: dhammiko, dhammarāja, cāturanto, vijitāvī, janapadatthavāriyapatto, etc.: —this dominion is established not by the scourge nor by the sword but by righteousness (adaṇḍena asatthena dhammen'eva adhivijiya— Both Aśoka and Srong-btsan sgam-po having conquered their kingdoms by the sword, consolidated them, after their conversions, by displays of righteousness. Srong-btsan sgam-po, like Aśoka, was influenced by his queens. As Gokhale has noted, —there is the obvious aim to interpret greatness in terms of the transforming influence of Buddhism on character. Aśoka before his conversion is a monster who almost becomes a saint after his conversion to Buddhism—.[29] Precedents (dpe) have always been important in Tibetan thinking whatever the sectarian or social background of the author. It was comparatively easy to transfer on to the Tibetan hero Srong-btsan sgam-po certain legendary themes linked with Aśoka.

So, to my mind, it is the 84,000 stūpa model which lurks behind the 12-temple episode in —The Gesture—. The latter should not be reduced to the dimensions of the static application of an emboxment theory, whatever its origins, to the body of an agitating demoness. The great king's gesture was a dynamic one: it inaugurated, in the tradition of the Indian cakravartins, a religious revolution. Just as the Aśokan model took its distance from the Brahmanical one, so in Tibet did Srong-btsan sgam-po's —Gesture— take its distance from

the Aśokan model. To have attributed to Srong-btsan sgam-po the construction of 84,000 sanctuaries would not have marked off Tibet from India. The objective in installing the 12 temples was similar to that aimed at in the Aśokan pattern: to bring to order, to stabilize, to subdue the local earth and its inhabitants, to implant the Doctrine and its sites for worship, lha-khang and mchod-rten, up to the limits of the national domain. There are other epic, religious heroes in Tibetan tradition, such as Padmasambhava, but their role is not one of national, political unification.

It is well-known that in Tibetan oral and written tradition Avalokiteśvara-Lokeśvara passes for a cakravartin whereas his emanation Srong-btsan sgam-po is the first of the three great chos-rgyal. In a recent, beautifully illustrated article, Pratapaditya Pal has opined that —despite the fact that no image of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara has so far been found in India, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the cult of this cosmic form of the most important Bodhisattva was not altogether unknown. Both manifestations (the Eleven-headed and the Thousand-armed) were familiar in the region known as Konkan in Maharastra, where the cult of Avalokiteśvara appears to have flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries. Apart from Kanheri, Ellora is another site where Avalokiteśvara figures prominently. Thus the Tibetan tradition that the cult was brought from that country may not be far-fetched. However, specific iconographic types may have entered Tibet from Central Asia—.[30] To related the sculptural to the textual evidence for the introduction of the cult of Avalokiteśvara to Tibet is no easy matter. At the time he wrote Pal had not seen Professor R.A. Stein's analysis of very important Tibetan and Chinese textual material relevant to this question. Among other points, Prof. Stein discusses whether Avalokiteśvara, considered not as a bodhisattva but as a buddha, should be connected with and opposed to the Buddha the one being visible whereas the latter can not be seen.[31] It seems to be now fairly accepted that behind the iconography of Avalokiteśvara lurks that of the Vedic Puruṣa, the prototype also of the 1000-eyed, 1000-armed Viṣṇu, of 1000-eyed Indra and Śiva. With regard to the introduction of the cakravartin concept to Tibet, we may note that Madame Benisti has suggested that it was at Bodh-Gayā that the glorification of the Buddha cakravartin was emphasized architecturally: —elle s'y intensifia et c'est de là vraisemblablement qu'elle rayonna dans d'autres régions, hors de l'Inde notamment—.[32] A. Forte, from a textual viewpoint, has provided fascinating glimpses of the discussion sparked off when the cakravartin concept was introduced to China.[33]

In conclusion, we might compare the roles which Buddhist authors have attributed, in their respective spheres, to Srong-btsan sgam-po in Tibet and to Duttha-Gāmaṇi in Sri Lanka. The latter is, in the words of Walpola Rāhula, —the greatest national hero of early Buddhist Ceylon... His war-cry was 'Not for kingdom, but for Buddhism!' This was the beginning of nationalism among the Sinhalese... A kind of

religo-nationalism, which almost amounted to fanaticism, roused the whole Sinhalese people. A non-Buddhist was not regarded as a human being—.[34] Gāmaṇī —the bad— — compare canda Asoka — delivered the Island from the domination of Elāra, the Chola prince whom the authors of the Ceylonese Chronicles depict as a just monarch who did not seek to suppress Buddhism. In the 25th chapter of the Mahāvaṁsa, Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī is made to express regret, after his conversion to Buddhism, for having killed so many men in his victorious wars, a regret which parallels that of Asoka. Heinz Bechert has written excellent pages on this formative period of Ceylonese Buddhist traditions.[35] Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī reigned from 101 to 77 B.C. Like Asoka, he erected many religious edifices notably the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanvālisāya) at Anuradhapura, the most venerated Dāgōba in Sri Lanka. His reign marks the period when the Island forged its independence from Indian cultural domination from the mainland. Buddhist historiographical developments in Ceylon at the time when the local chroniclers played their part in forging the ideological background to the foundation of a Buddhist nation-state prefigure, in a striking manner, what was to occur in Tibet from the 7th century A.D. onwards.

Notes

1. See, for instance, D. Jackson, Gateway to the Temple, Kathmandu (Ratna Pustak Bhandar) 1979, p. 18, who translates a Tibetan text published in 1971. Letters given to me in Lha-sa June, 1980, frequently mentioned Tibet's cultural unification as dating from the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

2. J. Bacot, Le mariage chinois du roi tibétain Sroṅ-bcan-po, in: Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, t. III, 1933-35, Bruxelles 1935, pp. 1-60.

3. D. Snellgrove & H. Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, London (Weidenfeld and Nicolson) 1968, p. 77.

4. R.A. Stein, La Civilisation tibetaine, 2nd edition, Paris (L'Asiathèque) 1981, p. 38.

5. T.V. Wylie, Some political factors in the early history of Tibetan Buddhism, in: A.K. Narain (ed.), Studies in History of Buddhism, Delhi (B.R. Publishing Co.) 1980, p. 366.

6. P. Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa, Paris (Imprimerie Nationale de France) 1952, pp. 188-189.

7. G. Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, translated by G. Samuel, London (Kegan Paul) 1980, p. 2.

8. G. Tucci, The wives of Srong-btsan sgam-po, in: Oriens Extremus, 9 Jahrgang, Heft I, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 126. See also P.Kvaerne, Mythes anthropogoniques au Tibet, in: Dictionnaire des Mythologies, Paris (Flammarion) 1980, pp. 22-30 of the offprint.

9. K.K. Adhikari, A brief survey of the historiography of Nepal, Kathmandu 1980, p. 47.

10. D.A. Macdonald, Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1047 et 1290: Essai sur la formation ét l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, in: Etudes tibétaines dédiées a la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, Paris (A. Maisonneuve(1971, pp. 190-391. Almost simultaneously G. Uray reached similar conclusions on several points in The narrative of legislation and organisation of the Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston. The origin of the traditions concerning Sroṅ-brtsan sgam-po as first legislator and organiser of Tibet, AOH, 26, 1, Budapest 1972, pp. 11-68.

11. A.-M. Blondeau, Le Tibet, Aperçu historique et géographique, in: Essais sur l'Art du Tibet, Paris (A. Maisonneuve) 1977, p. II. See also A.-M. Blondeau, Les religions du Tibet, in: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire des Religions, III, Paris 1976, pp. 239-247; et Les études tibétaines, in: Journal Asiatique, t. cclxi, 1-4, Paris 1973, pp.160- 165.

12. P. Mus, India seen from the East, Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa, translated by I.W. Mabbett, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, No. 3, Monash University, 1975, p. 22.

13. M. Aris, Bhutan, The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom, Warminster (Aris & Phillips Ltd.) 1979, p. 18.

14. Marcel Granet, La Pensée chinoise, New Edition, Paris (Albin Michel) 1968, p. 83; also Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne, Paris 1926, pp. 231-232.

15. R.P. Kangle, The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Part III, A Study, Bombay 1965, pp. 248-250.

16. S.J. Tambiah, World Conqueror and World Renouncer, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1976, p. 103.

17. G. Tucci, Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, Rome (Is. M.E.O., Rome) 1950, p. 9.

18. R.R.P. Sharma, The Sherdukpens, Shillong 1961, p. 5:
—Sherdukpen tradition claims that the tribe originally came from Tibet. The Tibetan king Be Srongtsen Gompo used to live in Devalajari in Lhasa with his Tibetan queen, Be Mu Za, by whom he had a son called Gepu Roding Dorjee Chhung. In course

of time he heard that the king of Assam had a very beautiful daughter and he began to long for her. He therefore sent his ablest minister, Rigpu Chhan, to Sibsagar to ask for her hand in marriage... In the beginning, the Ahom king was reluctant to send his daughter to a distant unknown land and made the minister pass through a series of severe tests before he agreed to the alliance and sent his daughter with the minister.

At last they set out on their journey homewards and came to the Brahmaputra and crossed over the far side. There the minister seduced the princess. The party finally arrived at Devalajari after passing through Sibsagar, Satiya, Morshing, Bumla and Tsona. The king of Lhasa was delighted to see his new bride and married her with great pomp and ceremony. Soon afterwards he noticed to his great dismay that his wife was pregnant. He realized that his minister had betrayed him and so had the minister imprisoned and punished.

The child that was born had the body of a human being, the face of a dog and the horns of a goat, and was accordingly named Khi Bu Rowa. When the king saw him, he had the child taken to the forest and left there to die.

As the king deeply loved his beautiful young wife, he forgave her previous act of infidelity. In course of time he had two sons by her — the oldest was named Japdung Ngowang Namje and the younger Japtang Bura. When the boys grew up, Jabdung Ngowang Namje succeeded to Bhutan while Japtang Bura took over the present Sherdukpen territory and thus became the first Sherdukpen king.—

19. Creative Dismemberment among the Tamang and Sherpas of Nepal, in Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson, edited by M. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, Warminster (Aris & Phillips Ltd;, Warminster) 1980, pp. 199-208.

20. B.G. Gokhale, On Buddhist Historiography, in: A.K. Narain (ed.), Studies in Pali and Buddhism, A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, Delhi (B.R. Publishing Corporation) 1979, pp. 99-108; the quotation is from p. 104.

21. G.S. Kirk, The Songs of Homer, Cambridge (C.U.P.) 1962, p. 57.

22. C.M. Bowra, Heroic Poetry, London (Macmillan & Co. Ltd.) 1961, p. 508.

23. E. Haarh, The Yar-luṅ Dynasty, Copenhagen 1969, p. 186.

24. Op. cit.,p. 187.

25. Op. cit.,pp. 197-198, 203-204.

26. Mus, Barabuḍur, Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archeologique des textes, t. I, Hanoi (Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient) 1935, p. *101.

27. S.J. Tambiah, op. cit., p. 94.

28. G.P. Malalasekara, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, London (Luzac & Co.) 1960, article: Cakkavatti: pp. 1343-1345.

29. B.G. Gokhale, loc. cit., p. 105.

30. P. Pal, Cosmic Vision and Buddhist Images, in: Art International, XXV, 1-2, 1982, pp. 8-40. The quotation is from p. 30.

31. See R.A. Stein, Divinites du panthéon tantrique sino-japonais, in: Annuaire du Collège de France, Vol. 77, pp. 599-607, and Les formes féminines de Kouan-yin, in: idid., 1977-1978, pp. 639-647. M. Stein in the course of his analysis notes that —parfois confondues et souvent distinctes, les deux formes (d'Avalokiteśvara) à onze têtes et à mille bras/mille yeux sont en fait inséparables—. He makes a very important suggestion which seems to have escaped the attention of most researchers. —Avalokiteśvara traité non pas en bodhisattva mais en buddha, se rapproche-t-il et s'oppose-t-il au Buddha comme pouvant être yu vs. ne pouvant pas etre vu? ...ce rapprochement a été opéré par les fidèles eux-mêmes, et cela dès le Ve siècle au moins, date de la traduction en chinois du sūtra de la contemplation d'Amitāyus (T. 365)...— La dixième contemplation a pour object le bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara qui est décrit dans son corps apparent de Réalité (absolue). Son corps est immense, rouge et des lumières qui en émanent englobent les êtres des cinq gati. Sur le sinciput il porte un joyau (śakrābhilagna-ratna) qui est propre a Indra, se trouve au sommet du Sumeru et éclaire et fait apparaître tout. Il n'y a aucune différence entre lui et le Buddha, sauf que la marque de l'usnīsa et la sous-marque de l'anavalokita-mūrdhatā ne valent pas celles du Buddha. Quiconque contemple d'abord l'usnīsa puis le reste est sauvé de tous les péchés et mauvais karman. On a donc: le buddha Avalokita dont l'usnīsa peut et doit être vu (d'en bas) vs. le Buddha dont la mūrdhatā (=usnīsa) ne peut et ne doit pas être vu (d'en haut)— (A.C.F., vol. 77, p. 601).

32. Mireille Benisti, Contribution à l'étude du stupa boudhique indien: les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gayā et de Ratnagiri, t. I; Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient, Vol. CXXV, Paris, E.F.E.O, 1981, p. 136.

33. A. Forte, Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century ... Napoli (Istituto Universitaris Orientale) 1976, p. 137.

34. W. Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, The Anuradhapura Period, Colombo (M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd.) 1956, pp. 79-80.

35. See Heinz Bechert, Zur Ursprung der Geschichtsschreibung in indischen Kulturbereich, in: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Gottingen, I, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1969, No. 2, pp. 33-58, particularly pp. 47-48; and The beginnings of Buddhist Historiography, in Ancient Ceylon, 3, 1979, pp. 21-28, particularly pp. 24-27. Some relevant remarks by the same author are to be found in Sangha, State, Society, —Nation—: Persistence of Traditions in —Post-Traditional— Buddhist Societies: Daedalus, Winter 1973, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 102, No. I, pp. 85-95; and in Einige Fragen der Religionssoziologie und Struktur der südasiatischen Buddhismus, Beiträge zur religions-sociologischen Forschung: International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religions, Bd. 4. Köln and Opladen 1968, pp. 250-295. On the Mahāvaṁsa, see recently Sirima Kiribamune, The Mahāvaṁsa: A Study of the ancient historiography of Sri Lanka, in: Paranavitana Felicitation Volume, Colombo 1965, pp. 125-136.

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